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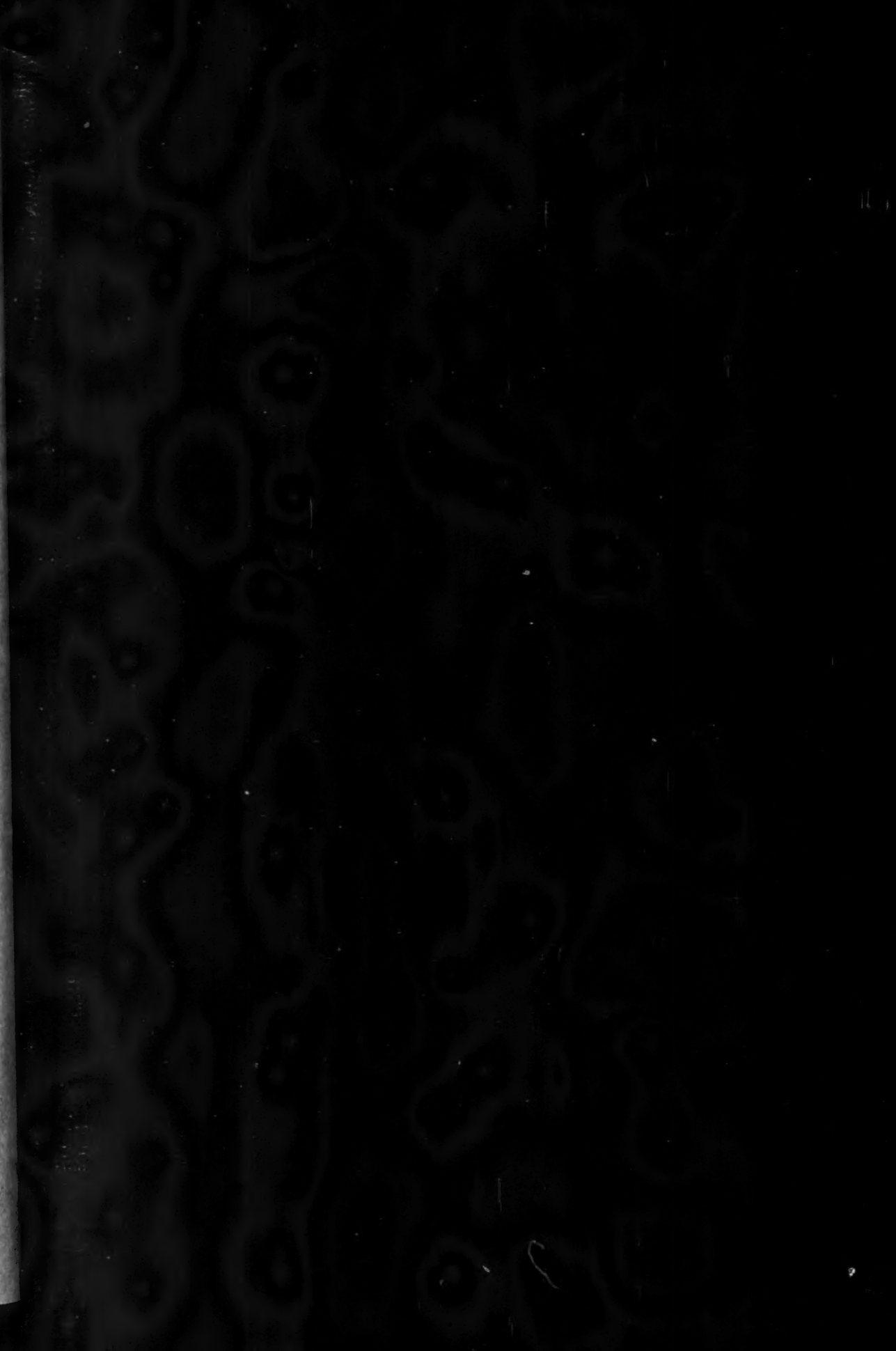
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Rural Youth and the Government¹

*Aubrey Williams**

ABSTRACT

More than two and a half million rural young people have had to be assisted in some way by the Federal Government since 1933. This situation is the result of long-time trends which were brought into bold relief by the depression. In the past rural youth escaped from the effects of these trends by either migrating to new lands or to the cities. New lands are now no longer available and the cities are unable to absorb as many rural youth as formerly. The result is a "piling up" of youth in rural territory.

The educational and work programs of both the National Youth Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps have supplemented the schools and the economic system. Through these programs the Federal Government has admitted its responsibility for removing the economic barrier to education on the high school level and above for youth in low income families, as well as the responsibility to provide vocational training, work experience, and wages to youth from relief families who are unable to obtain employment.

The government's obligation to its citizens in the field of recreation received an impetus during the years since the initiation of the emergency programs. A responsibility to youth not yet discharged adequately by the government is the presentation of facts for discussion of present-day problems and government. There is a demand among rural youth for such discussions.

Requisites to proper discharge of the government's responsibility to youth in any area of activity are: Adequate facts, including uniform data gathered periodically, upon which to base policies and a body of public opinion sanctioning the assumption of responsibilities to youth expressed through the elected representatives of the people in Congress.

It has been my responsibility during the last few years to help direct the Federal Government's work in assisting youth of the lowest economic level, among whom have been many thousands from the farms and from rural-nonfarm homes. Youth like their elders were caught in the maelstrom of the economic depression; it was absolutely necessary for the government to take emergency measures to meet the critical situation faced by them. The assumption of emergency responsibilities for youth through the activities of the Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Youth Administration, and the continuing need for assistance to this group make desirable a redefinition of the relationship of government to youth.

* Deputy Administrator of the Works Progress Administration and Executive Director of the National Youth Administration.

¹ A paper presented before the Section on Rural Sociology, American Sociological Society, Atlantic City, New Jersey, December, 1937.

TRENDS AND PROBLEMS

Since the first efforts were made in 1933 to alleviate distress, well over two and one-half million rural youths have appealed directly or indirectly to the Federal Government for aid. In addition others (how many it is impossible to estimate) have found themselves idle and unable to make their adjustment into adult life with any adequate assurance of economic security.

These conditions were the results of long-time trends, but it took the depression to reveal both the unfortunate condition of many youths and the trends. For years the length of time it takes to pass up the rungs of the agricultural ladder from farm laborer to farm owner has been increasing. Concomitantly more and more farm youths have been looking for "jobs." As a corollary of these trends much of the good farm land has been falling into the hands of corporations, thereby thwarting the American ideal—the family farm operated by the family. Moreover, technology applied to agriculture has been making manpower decreasingly necessary. The exhaustion of natural resources, such as timber, coal, and hillside soils, has likewise been in process, and has made it more and more difficult to make a living in some regions.

For decades two avenues provided youth an escape from the pressing effects of these trends—moving to new lands and migration to the cities. In the East, some decades prior to the close of the last century, the operation of some of these trends was already restricting opportunities on the land, which caused many young people to join the westward movement of population. By the beginning of the new century most of the best agricultural lands in the West were taken. That closed opportunity in that direction, whereupon youth then turned to the cities where industry swallowed them up ravenously. There was a net movement of approximately 2,000,000 young people from the farms to the cities during the decade prior to the economic convulsion, which some historians say began in 1929, though students of rural life know that the depression began for agriculture in 1920.

The escape by way of the cities was practically closed during the first years of the depression, and though there was some resumption of the movement from the farms after 1932, America had almost one million more young people on its farms in 1935 than in 1930. In the industrial centers labor-saving machines in the factories have competed successfully with youth for the available jobs. As a result many youths in the

cities are idle, while at the same time youths not needed in the country search for urban employment.

The present business recession, again restricting employment in the industrial centers, promises if continued to pyramid the surplus of rural youths. Although migration from farms has been resumed, it has not been sufficient to relieve the congestion, especially in poor land areas. Consequently, unless there is a rapid recovery from the present business slump, from one and a half to two million more youths will be struggling to make a living and an adjustment into adult life in rural America in 1940 than in 1930. Augmenting the number of rural youth who must depend on the land directly or indirectly for sustenance can only result in further limitations in opportunities per individual, which in turn may mean a progressive lowering of the standard of living for the oncoming families of thousands of rural youth.

OBLIGATIONS TO YOUTH

With this ominous prospect facing many rural young people, it behooves us to re-examine the obligations a democratic society owes its youth. Certain responsibilities have long been accepted and the exercise of these responsibilities incorporated in our governmental systems—state and Federal. Other responsibilities are recent. Additional responsibilities may have to be assumed.

The education of childhood and youth has been accepted as a basic tenet in our democracy, and on it has been built America's free public school system. Free public education for the masses was furthered as a means of eliminating the wretchedness and poverty that accompanied the rapid expansion of our industrial system during the second half of the last century.² Until quite recently, however, this obligation was generally considered to be fulfilled when the child completed the eighth grade. In the days when farms to rent or buy were always available in the home community, and migration to the West or to the city was open to those who did not care to remain, this amount of schooling was perhaps sufficient. But as time passed and society grew more complex the need for high schools in rural areas grew.

High schools in rural areas multiplied rapidly after 1910 as a consequence of state and local acceptance of the additional obligation to provide general education above the eighth grade and various types of

² Charles A. Beard, *The Unique Function of Education in American Democracy*, Educational Policies Commission, National Education Association, 1937, p. 41.

vocational training. The Federal Government undertook to provide special vocational training in agriculture, homemaking, and some industrial arts to be given in these high schools. These institutions have done much to bridge the years between childhood and the time when full adult responsibilities are assumed. Since 1930, in fact, they may be said to have acted as shock absorbers for the depression; the enrollment in rural public schools rose from 1,438,000 in 1930 to the unprecedented figure of 2,202,000 in 1934 and has probably not declined since. There are admittedly shocking inequalities in the availability of high school facilities to youth in rural areas, and the curricula of some that are available are woefully inadequate. Nevertheless, more and more rural high school graduates are turned out, while the basic problems facing rural youth remain largely unsolved. Indeed it appears that education alone may no longer be insurance against economic insecurity.

Nevertheless, vocational training is necessary as one means of helping young people to adjust to the economic system, and to living in this complicated competitive modern society. Boys who are going to be farmers need to know how to be efficient farmers in order to compete with other commercial farmers. Those who are to go into other occupations should likewise be trained to do their work better. Girls need training in homemaking in order to be able to make the best use of the resources at their disposal as well as training for jobs.

However, when the depression struck, it was found that the vocational training offered had been far from adequate since distressingly high proportions of the young persons in relief families were utterly untrained for any kind of work even if it had been available. In order, therefore, to prepare these youths for the day when jobs would be available and to equip them to live better in their own communities, the Federal Government injected the vocational training element into the program of both the Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Youth Administration. Not only have these emergency agencies trained youth, but they have given them actual work experience with wages, thereby removing another serious handicap to obtaining employment in the general labor market, namely, the lack of experience. More than a million rural young men have been in the C.C.C. camps, and hundreds of thousands of young men and women have participated in the N.Y.A. program through the work projects and shop training centers where young people learn vocations by doing. An analysis of the distribution of young people on N.Y.A. work projects in 2,120 counties in the United

States in January, 1937, shows that 18 per cent of the total amount spent went into 1,400 counties having no incorporated place over 2,500, though only 13 per cent of the total population of the United States live in these counties. All of this population is rural. While the percentage of the total amount spent in other groups of counties, classified according to the size of the incorporated places within them, is known, the division between youths living in incorporated places of 2,500 and above and those living outside of places of that size is not known. At that time, however, the purely rural counties were receiving more than their proportionate share, according to population of the total expenditure for work projects for youth, and the same may be said for the student aid program.

A more detailed analysis of 320 counties in the South Atlantic, the Middle Western, and the Southern States, selected as typical of the states in which they were located, corroborates this conclusion. Furthermore, it shows that in the counties having no incorporated center of more than 2,500, 6.4 per cent of the high school enrollment were being aided. But in counties with cities of 25,000 and above, only 3.1 per cent were being aided. In a few of the very poorest rural counties 35 to 40 per cent of all high school enrollment were receiving student aid from the National Youth Administration.

The student aid program is an outgrowth of the acceptance by the government of the responsibility for removing the economic barrier to educational opportunities on the high school level and above, for youth in low income families. The C.C.C. also has done its share in smoothing out the inequalities in general education, as has also the Federal adult education program.

Many of the rural research sociologists may be familiar with the plan whereby practical vocational training, largely in agriculture and home-making, is being made available to the lowest income group by the colleges in co-operation with the National Youth Administration. There are now some 40 educational institutions scattered in 10 states offering a course for approximately 3,300 students from farm relief families. Youths are given part-time employment on construction and farm work. Much of the work has consisted of building shops and co-operative dormitories in which the students themselves live.

Both the Federal youth programs—the C.C.C. and the N.Y.A.—in their educational and work programs have supplemented the activities

of the regular schools and our economic system, respectively. In both these directions the Federal Government assumed new responsibilities.

The United States Employment Service with the co-operation of the National Youth Administration has also been rendering vocational guidance and placement service to youth, but the efforts up to the present have been confined to the cities, though on the assumption that youth coming from the country would be helped. It is, however, extremely important that this type of service be adapted to rural needs and be definitely extended to rural areas, since through such service migration to the cities may be directed and finding a job there be taken out of the realm of chance. Experiments are now being carried on with a view to taking this service to the rural young people, which if accomplished will mean the assumption of a new responsibility by the national government.

The hardships of the last few years have brought about the widespread acceptance by the Federal Government of the obligation to youth, as well as to adults and children, to provide facilities for and guidance in recreation. The Co-operative Extension Service of the Department of Agriculture has recognized this responsibility for some time in rural areas, but the emergency agencies have made possible a more adequate extension of recreational leisure-time services. That youth participated in generous proportions is indicated by an analysis of the work carried on by the recreation division of the Works Progress Administration for the week ending August 28, 1937, in the afore-mentioned 320 counties. It was found that participation-hours of persons 16 to 24 years of age were approximately 25 per cent of the total hours, though this age group comprises only between 16 and 17 per cent of the total population. In embarking on a large scale program of community organization for leisure-time activities, the government has endeavored to expand and equalize recreational opportunities throughout the country.

The experience of the Extension Service shows that many rural young people are asking that a certain portion of their recreational programs be devoted to discussions of various topics—present-day problems, foreign policy, agricultural policy, various aspects of governmental activities, etc. This desire points to a perpetual debt a democracy owes its youth, a presentation of the facts concerning our economic and social system, and the forces that have created the present problematical situations. Rural youths need to know that "Only half the farm problem is on the land. The other half is in the towns and cities, and overseas where rival nations are trying to destroy each other and avoid buying

anything from outside their own borders."³ I would not suggest that the government dictate the presentation of facts in accordance with the theory or interests of the party in power. This is the method of the totalitarian state; it cannot be the method of democracy. Youth in rural America need to know the facts concerning their own economic system with its inequality of economic opportunity, the recent trends respecting ownership and operation of farms, the facts behind the difficulty the small individual business is experiencing in obtaining even a meager profit, and conditions of poverty so widely prevalent among them, both on the farms and in some villages and other rural-nonfarm areas. The discussion technique appears to be one of the best methods of continuing education after youths leave school.

CONCLUSIONS

In order that the government may properly and efficiently discharge the responsibilities to youth which have been outlined, certain things are requisite. There must be adequate facts upon which to base policies. In the rural field the research on youth has been largely lacking in uniformity and perspective, and with a few exceptions has not been very useful either in defining problems or in guiding policy. There is a definite need for obtaining periodically certain uniform data about youth on a broad general scale, as well as representative local studies on a state basis.

From time to time policies of the National Youth Administration have been changed, usually on the basis of a few facts and many opinions. Enough facts have not been available. The rural research sociologists can perform a genuine service for youth if they will gather and interpret facts that will help make more definitive the problems of youth, so that any administrative agency may formulate its policies and execute its program on the basis of many facts and few opinions. Moreover, the sociologists of the Extension Service of the state colleges are in a peculiarly strategic position to function as integrators of all the work directed to assisting rural youth to take advantage of opportunities that may be available through state and Federal agencies.

There must, however, be a body of enlightened public opinion behind any program. The public through its elected representatives in Congress tells the administrative branch of the government what shall be done. If

³ Statement of Secretary Wallace, December 6, 1937, speaking on the National Radio Forum.

public opinion does not sanction the assumption of responsibility in certain areas of activity, then that aspect of the administrative program for youth cannot be carried out. Congress determines how far the program of any individual department or bureau of the executive branch of government shall go by controlling the purse strings. The voters and the taxpayers pretty largely determine what responsibilities to youth the government shall continue to discharge, which shall be extended, and what new responsibilities shall be assumed. They determine the relation the Federal Government will bear to rural youth in the years immediately ahead.

Social Security as a Function of Society¹

J. H. Kolb*

ABSTRACT

In the social heritage of rural America, there is deeply graven the tradition that no one shall starve, but at the same time no one shall be allowed to depend solely upon others, without rendering some service in return for help given. In the haste accompanying the recent and vast relief, rehabilitation, and security legislation, there was feverish demand for research on a national scale. This of necessity, resulted in the collection of quantities of facts, and much description of forms and procedures, but has produced little organic thinking concerning the fundamental concepts or the deep-going process of society in crises. There is immediate need to co-ordinate our great detailed knowledge, and to relate it to life. With analysis must go synthesis and service. Along with thorough-going studies of social situations, there must go reformulation of concepts whose roots lie deep in the culture, and whose outward forms can be understood and accepted today. The entire activity of the state or society in the welfare field hinges upon the matter of the handicap. In removing handicaps, the basis of help must be one of *need* rather than one of right. The family rather than the individual should be the unit of social treatment. To preserve and to expand the traditional spirit of neighborliness, and to achieve the self-dependence of our people is the beginning and end of all public welfare and social security.

Social security is a concept growing rapidly in the current scene, but needing greatly to sink its roots into the cultural foundations of American life. In the early days of our nation concepts concerning the rights of man were translated into the political structure by men who had profound convictions that they were in line with the forces of history. "Due process," "equality before the law," "public trial," "free speech," are illustrations.² They are not defined anywhere and their meanings change, but they are concepts respecting privileges and immunities upon which Americans, and Englishmen before them, have insisted. Their foundations are in the common law. They were recognized before constitutions took written form. Their roots are deep in the culture and the mores of the people. They are made vital and vivid by such symbols as the Boston Massacre, Old South Church, Patrick

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¹ This paper was presented before the Section on Rural Sociology, American Sociological Society, Atlantic City, New Jersey, December, 1937.

² These and similar expressions have been traced and related to political science and social legislation by William H. Spohn, attorney, Madison, Wisconsin, chairman of the Citizens' Committee on Public Welfare.

Henry, Faneuil Hall, and Paul Revere. Together they form "fundamental principles" to which we are told in our constitution to refer frequently. They are recognized and reinterpreted by legislative bodies, and from them flow the unending pages of reasonably consistent statute law.

But what of the field of social welfare? There are concepts here also, but it does not take much scrutiny to discover that they are often hazy, unrelated or even inconsistent. Yet, how are we to cope with or even understand the many hazards to the life, liberty, and happiness of people in our modern society, unless we not only research for reliable and relevant facts, but also help to form conceptual frames of reference, within which some consensus can be secured? Is there consensus today regarding the responsibility society should assume for distressed and harassed individuals? Are we, as a people, in accord respecting a social theory which will sustain a welfare or a security program? Can we discover foundations in social concepts which will reflect the will of the majority, and thus become the basis for legislation and for group action?

In the haste accompanying the recent and vast relief, rehabilitation, and security legislation, there was feverish demand for research on a national scale. This, of necessity, resulted in the collection of quantities of facts, and much description of forms and procedures, but has produced little organic thinking concerning the fundamental concepts or the deep-going processes of society in crises. This is said not to minimize the importance of many facts and figures, but to suggest the need for better analysis, for greater search for meanings, and especially for the formulation of concepts which can be accepted as the very sills of our current social life and legislation, because they have rootage in the past and possess "reasonableness" in the present.

It is recognized, of course, that concepts concerning security and welfare are found in our social theory. Professor C. R. Henderson, in his first book on the social problems of the community, outlined policies for handling dependents, defectives, and delinquents. LePlay sought to relate the functions of the local group to maintenance of stability in the nation. Cooley summed our fundamental needs into three concepts: self-expression, appreciation, and reasonable security.

Whole theoretical systems have, in fact, been built to explain in single terms this matter of social and personal insecurity—Kropotkin, Freud, Thomas, Sorokin, Spengler, Butterfield, Tugwell—but besides being oversimplifications, they seem not to explain why security is primarily

important to one group and not to another, or why forms of security vary so widely from place to place and from time to time.

Nor should it be suggested that the principles are new upon which much of the recent welfare legislation is based. Laws for the administration of aid to indigent persons are found in the code of Hammurabi. Section 49.09 Wisconsin laws, which was adopted from the New York law, traces back directly and almost unchanged to the 300-year-old Elizabethan statutes. Still we cannot say that "alms," "the poor," and "pauperism" as interpreted by our forebears in such laws represent our present-day ideas of relief or welfare or security. Ages seem to intervene between "alms" and "welfare." Even a recital of the terms stirs up a multitude of emotions. Has any person a "right" to relief? Shall society exact labor to requite relief given? Is old-age pension (so-called) aid given because of need, or a reward for services rendered? How can we maintain the individual independence which our traditional mores have put high in the scale of values, when society, through community and national schemes, must provide for many citizens the very means of security?

In the social heritage of rural America, there is deeply graven the tradition that no one shall starve, but at the same time no one shall be allowed to depend solely upon others, without rendering some service in return for help given. How shall we exact services today from the thousands who must be helped? How shall we determine who is capable of rendering service? What kind and quantity of service shall be given? These are only some of the difficulties with which we as members of a society are now faced.

It would seem evident that we stand not only in need of facts, but also of concepts freighted with meanings from the past, which can be reinterpreted and related to current facts, and thus be made serviceable in present society. Or, in other phrases, there is immediate need to co-ordinate our great detailed knowledge, and to relate it to life. With analysis must go synthesis and service. It is therefore the thesis of this paper, that along with thorough-going studies of social situations, there must go reformulation of concepts whose roots lie deep in the culture, and whose outward forms can be understood and accepted today. This is not a discussion of division of labor among social researcher, theorist, administrator, and propagandist, but is an attempt to discover relationships of functions.

As example rather than proof of the thesis, the work of the Wis-

consin Citizens' Committee on Public Welfare appointed by Governor LaFollette in the spring of 1936, is cited:

Wisconsin, as many other states, was finally forced to admit the breakdown of its ordinary forms of social security. Its older methods and concepts of responsibility crumbled under the impact of some new and many old problems, which during recent years had become greatly aggravated. Short-time and emergency measures were tried, but it became plain that society's relation to the whole question of security must be reconsidered. Reverting to a traditional Wisconsin idea, a committee was appointed and a study launched. There was a technical and professional staff, but primary responsibility for devising programs and formulating principles of public policy rested upon this committee of citizens. Detailed studies of social conditions were made. Facts were found, analyzed, and reported, 200 pages of them. Dollar costs were employed to help comprehend and describe the scope of the problem. Here are a few relating to public assistance:

From January 1, 1931, to June 30, 1936 (five and a half years), \$342,000,000 was spent in Wisconsin, for special work programs and outdoor and allied relief activities, an average of \$65,000,000 per year, but three-fourths of this amount was spent in the last two and a half years; almost a hundred million a year.

The cost of assistance programs in 1935 exceeded the total taxes levied on property, by the state and all governmental units in that year.

Since the depression began, expenditures for assistance have exceeded the total revenues from all income taxes collected since 1911.

In 1935, 117,000 families and single persons were on direct relief or work relief; that is, one person in six was on relief.

In 1936, all of the special relief taxes collected by the state, as well as some unexpended federal funds, went to 25 counties in the state.

For the year 1938-39 the expense of old-age pensions alone will be twelve and a half millions of dollars; this is more than all of the expenses of the state and all its subdivisions in 1918.

Members of the Citizens' Committee studied and discussed the facts assembled from published reports and records and gathered from many long days of interview and conference with local, county, and state government officials, with administrators of all manner of welfare agencies, and with many citizens. It soon became apparent that there was no escape from the necessity of interpreting what the facts mean, and of relating them to fundamental concepts. At first general observations were found to occur again and again in the several reports, and in the discussions of the various subcommittees. Finally, as the general com-

mittee sought to present findings and to propose recommendations, there came a consensus on certain principles. They emerged as definite and more compelling than the facts alone, but they were not apart from the facts. The sheer logic of the facts gave impetus and direction to thinking and to discussion, and led to the necessity for formulating objectives and relating them to recognized concepts. The members of the Committee did not and could not agree upon all the ways and means for the realization of the ends, but they could and did concur in the fundamental principles. Three will be cited here:

1. True security seeks to preserve, achieve, or regain the self-dependence of the individual.
2. If an individual suffers a handicap beyond his power to overcome, the community should assist him in his struggle toward independence.
3. Upon the security of its individual citizens rests the security of society.

It is submitted that these concepts are rooted in sound American doctrine, as interpreted in 1889 by Theodore Roosevelt when in the opening chapter of his *Winning of the West* he said,

The first lesson the backwoodsman learned was the necessity of self-help; the next, that such a community could thrive only if all joined in helping one another.

It was self-dependence and neighborliness which builded every commonwealth west of the Alleghenies. But, in a present-day interpretation of these concepts, it soon becomes evident that the entire activity of the state or society in the welfare field, whether it be the handling of those delinquent, the aiding of those dependent, or the caring for those disabled, hinges upon the matter of the handicap. This handicap may be physical or it may be mental; it may be social or it may be economic, but if it exists fairly, society has no choice but to help to correct it. If you accept this fundamental view as a guide to your thinking and acting, you will quickly realize as did members of our Committee, that real strategy is in the direction of prevention, acting affirmatively, striking at the causes of difficulties before they arise, rather than attempting to overtake them from the rear.

It must be cautioned again that a practical application of such principles is not easy. Nor can it be assumed that most citizens will come to an agreement on specific plans. In fact, it is only fair to record that members of the Committee found an almost curious lack of agreement on some detailed plans. But on the fundamentals there did come agreement, and in all of the discussions, hearings, and controversies which

followed the submission of the recommendations to the governor and the legislature, the central objectives and the fundamental concepts stood unaltered; neither were they assailed. They did help to crystallize and direct public and legislative opinion. It was *form* of organization, *formula* of relief reimbursement, or *title* of the subsection which harried the conferences and in some instances blocked action.

To complete the discussion and to round out the example, implications of the concepts and objectives set forth by the Committee will be briefly followed in three general areas of public welfare activity.

1. SOCIAL OR FAMILY WELFARE

The story of society's concern for individuals and for families in need of assistance has had a changing emphasis, but a central theme. This story of change in a real sense represents the struggle toward greater appreciation of human values, and toward a recognition that conservation of human resources is fundamental to society's future existence.

More concretely, the Committee, in order to carry out its interpretation of social security in this first area, declared the *family* to be the unit for social treatment. Its recommended organization and program were therefore built with the idea of family welfare. This is somewhat different than the emphasis given at the time of the passage of the Children's Code in 1929, when emphasis was placed upon child welfare. The Committee was convinced that, after all is considered, the main problems relating to the child finally trace back in some way to the family itself, and that a real program of social welfare must reach and involve the family.

On the theory of removing handicaps, the basis of help must be one of *need* rather than the emphasis sometimes given as that of *right* such as in a pension program. Furthermore, even an aged person can not be considered apart from his family situation.

The Committee decided that the county should be the local administrative unit primarily responsible for social welfare and therefore recommended that a board of citizen members, with policy-making functions, be constituted to co-ordinate all agencies of family welfare within the county; that this board should appoint qualified and trained personnel in full-time arrangement where the situation warranted, to carry out the program; and that the county must make provision according to its ability for helping to finance the program, but with provision for state-wide equalization.

At the state level, the Committee emphasized and made recommendations for the co-ordination of institutional and noninstitutional care, and for providing to counties such needed specialized services which they could not hope to finance themselves. The state is obviously under obligation to work out a program of equalized care and support. One of the outstanding findings of the Committee was the vast inequalities which exist over the state with respect to public assistance and welfare services of all kinds.

The Committee maintained that the state is under further obligation to provide for a program of training for welfare employees, such training to be both professional and what is called "in-service training."

Finally, at the state level the Committee recommended that there be set up a Board of Citizens responsible for policy making and with a professional staff whose duty it should be to actually administer and execute the program. To this recommendation the recent Legislature did not give heed.

2. MENTAL HEALTH AND HYGIENE

The social security emphasis which is being urged insists that the state is conditioned by the physical and mental health of its citizens, and that an incomplete health program militates against the state itself.

In the field of mental hygiene the problems are so acute, and so much depends on early discovery and prompt treatment or training that a separate state department was recommended, and was so constituted by the recent Legislature with a citizen's policy-making board and an administrative executive and staff.

The mental health program thus far within the state has been largely an institutional one. To carry out the idea of prevention and restitution, many forms of noninstitutional service will be required. It was felt that for the time being at least this should be a separate effort, rather than an addition to the duties of the presently organized and highly competent State Board of Health.

3. DELINQUENCY AND CORRECTION

The delinquent in early times was considered a permanent social outcast. Extreme punitive measures were believed to be the only protection for society. The direction of modern thought is toward corrective measures, still having as their ultimate objective the protection of society, not through punishment but rehabilitation of the delinquent. This is

achieved by preventing delinquency from occurring, if possible; or if not, by preventing its repetition through reconditioning and re-educating the individual who becomes delinquent. This emphasis is a far cry from the theory of physical punishment or from the slogan of "law and order." To be sure, its interpretation and application into the institutional and noninstitutional practices of a state will require consummate skill and infinite patience.

The program of corrections fell into four main phases: prevention, detection, rehabilitation, and re-establishment. The Committee recommended a co-ordinated program with institutional and noninstitutional phases under a board of citizens with administrative personnel, as recommended for welfare and mental hygiene. Such a board was established by the Legislature.

The Committee recommended co-ordinated administration of the various correctional institutions with greater flexibility of transfer; in fact, one receiving unit, with more frequent study of cases, and a greater use of the indeterminate sentence.

It recommended counsellors within the various institutions who could act as personal advisors, looking not only toward parole, but to increasing the effectiveness of a within-the-institution treatment program.

It recommended that jails be utilized only for detention purposes (Wisconsin does not have an enviable record with regard to its jails, according to ratings of the Federal service); that there be an extension of noninstitutional programs with particular emphasis on probation and parole; that hospital facilities be provided, especially at the state prison; and that the after-care and re-establishment within the family and community be given major emphasis. The latter requires careful co-ordination with county programs of social and family welfare. Thus the circle is closed and the family is inevitably found at its center.

CONCLUSION

To preserve and to expand the traditional spirit of neighborliness, and to achieve the self-dependence of our people is the beginning and end of all public welfare and social security. To the founding fathers a democracy was largely confined to the political forms of government. Today we are engaged in a struggle to acquire democracy in our social and economic relationships. As Dr. Charles Beard has so well expressed it, "To speak of democracy without reference to the ways and means of life is to speak of shadows without substance."

Democracy must now be measured by the extent to which it fosters self realization and develops the capacity *and* the opportunity for human beings to achieve, individually and co-operatively, their own and therefore society's social security.

The Present Social Status of American Farm Tenants¹

Edgar A. Schuler*

ABSTRACT

Social status, for the purposes of this paper, is defined as based on a hierarchic division of society into classes which differ quantitatively, qualitatively, or both, regarding: (1) social privileges received and obligations borne; (2) goods and services consumed; (3) respect received and prestige held; (4) ideology and class solidarity. An analysis of the findings reported in about 50 studies appearing since 1922, dealing chiefly with consumption data, and representing conditions in 21 states, showed that: (1) Southern tenants (not including sharecroppers) were consistently found to occupy a status lower than that of Southern owners; (2) Northern tenants, however, were not consistently found to occupy a social status lower than that of Northern owners. The findings reported in a recent Resettlement Administration study, *Social Status and Farm Tenure: Attitudes and Social Conditions of Corn Belt and Cotton Belt Farmers* dealing especially with the subjective aspects of status, tended to confirm the foregoing conclusions.

Social stratification is present to a greater or less extent in every society. Only in imaginary utopian communities does this generalization not hold true. In the rural portion of American society this stratification is most commonly expressed in terms of a hierarchy based upon the relationships of the individual to the farm land from which, directly or indirectly, his living comes.² These relationships are usually divided into those (1) involving ownership of the land, and (2) nonownership. Following census usage, owners may be subdivided into the categories of full owners and part owners. Nonowners may be separated into the categories of (a) those who rent the land and operate the farm, and

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¹ This paper was presented before the Section on Rural Sociology, American Sociological Society, Atlantic City, December, 1937. Practically all the data were secured while the writer was a member of the Social Research Section of the Rural Resettlement Division, the Resettlement Administration, under Dr. Carl C. Taylor, to whom he is indebted for permission to use them in this connection. For criticisms of the manuscript, the writer is indebted to his colleagues at Louisiana State University.

² See the data on social stratification in Pitirim A. Sorokin's *Social Mobility* (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1927), and in the *Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1930-32, 3 vols.), by P. A. Sorokin, C. C. Zimmerman, and C. J. Galpin, both of which refer to numerous studies on the subject.

(b) those who have little or no claim on the land but, under supervision, do the manual labor on farms operated by others.³ Of these categories, attention will be confined primarily to owner operators and tenant operators. The questions to be considered in the present paper are: (a) To what extent are these classes characterized by distinct patterns of social and psychosocial traits? (b) Do they differ in social status? (c) If so, how does the social status of tenant farmers compare with that of farm owners?

It may be useful at the outset to indicate briefly the elements of the concept of social status as here used.⁴ It involves a hierarchic division of society into social classes which (1) differ both quantitatively and qualitatively in their social privileges and obligations.⁵ As every sociologist knows, these need not be legally defined in order to have real meaning. (2) The material goods and services utilized by members of the classes considered not only differ quantitatively and qualitatively, but they are consumed by varying proportions of members of these classes.⁶ (3) Associated with these objective differences is a subjective differentiation in the characteristic degree of respect, prestige, and admiration expected by and accorded to members of the several classes. (4) The more pronounced the differentiation in the foregoing respects, the greater will be the tendency for differing class ideologies to appear in, and to be generally recognized as characteristic of, the thinking of members of the several classes. To the extent, then, that the farm tenure categories exhibit differences with respect to these four characteristics of social status, to that extent are they to be regarded as constituting genuine social classes, each possessing a distinct social status.

³ It should be pointed out that from a sociological point of view this latter type of distinction, viz., that between those who operate farms and those who do not, may be even more significant than that between owners and nonowners.

⁴ See the various relevant articles and bibliographies in the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York, Macmillan, 1930-35, 15 vols.), such as those on "Status," "Class consciousness," "Class," "Caste," and "Social mobility."

⁵ See the stimulating analysis by Sorokin in his monumental work, *Cultural And Social Dynamics* (New York, American Book Company, 1937, 3 vols.), III, 18-21. On the too little recognized "obligations" aspect of high social status, see the data under "Social Contributions" in T. J. Woofter, Jr., "Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantation," Works Progress Administration, Division of Social Research, *Research Monograph 5*, Washington, 1936, pp. 31-33, and 204-5.

⁶ See the exhaustive annotated and analytical bibliography by Faith M. Williams and Carle C. Zimmerman, "Studies of Family Living in the United States and Other Countries: An Analysis of Material and Method," United States Department of Agriculture, *Miscellaneous Publication No. 223*, Washington, 1935.

This concept of status in a system of classes should be clearly differentiated from that in a caste system.⁷ In the former situation, membership in the upper class is open to, and is often successfully sought by, members of the lower classes.⁸ But whether or not these upward strivings are successful, there is a widespread similarity of ambition, of objective, and of desire for the privileges, prestige, and material benefits of upper-class membership.

II

In terms of the concept just presented, what do recent investigations show regarding the social status of farm tenants as compared with that of farm owners?⁹ To answer this question an analysis was made of about 50 recent publications (with one exception, none appearing earlier than 1922) reporting on investigations confined to a single state, and containing quantitative tenure class comparisons.¹⁰ For purposes of

⁷ For a good treatment of the classic example of caste, one which adequately shows the complexities of the phenomenon, see *Caste in India*, by Emile Senart (London, Methuen and Company, 1930, a translation from the original French by Sir E. Denison Ross).

⁸ In the bibliography issued by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics entitled *Farm Tenancy in the United States*, 1918-36 (Washington, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Economics Bibliography No. 70, 1937), see the numerous references under the topic, "Agricultural Ladder," of which the studies by W. J. Spillman especially deserve attention.

⁹ It was thought best to confine the discussion to the United States because the nature of farm tenancy varies widely in the Western European countries alone, to say nothing of those countries for which data are less easily available to the American student.

¹⁰ W. A. Anderson, "Farm Living Among White Owner and Tenant Operators in Wake County," North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin* 269 (Raleigh, 1929); John D. Black and Carle C. Zimmerman, "Family Living on Successful Minnesota Farms," Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin* 240 (St. Paul, 1927); Sara A. Brown, "Children Working in the Sugar Beet Fields of Certain Districts of the South Platte Valley, Colorado," National Child Labor Committee, *Publication No. 333* (New York, 1925); W. V. Dennis, "Organizations Affecting Farm Youth in Locust Township, Columbia County," Pennsylvania Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin* 265 (State College, 1931); Perry P. Denune, "The Social and Economic Relations of the Farmers with the Towns in Pickaway County, Ohio," Ohio State University, Bureau of Business Research, *Bulletin* 5 (Columbus, 1927); O. D. Duncan and J. T. Sanders, "A Study of Certain Economic Factors in Relation to Social Life Among Oklahoma Cotton Farmers," Oklahoma Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin* 211 (Stillwater, 1933); Margaret Fedde and Ruth Lindquist, "A Study of Farm Families and Their Standards of Living in Selected Districts of Nebraska, 1931-33," Nebraska Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin* 78 (Lincoln, 1935); Mary E. Frayser, "A Study of Expenditures for Family Living by 46 South Carolina Rural Families," South Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin* 299 (Clemson, 1934); Ruth C. Freeman and M. Attie Souder, "Living Expenditures of a Selected Group of Illinois Farm and Small Town Families (1929-30)," Illinois Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin* 372 (Urbana, 1931); L. P. Gabbard, "An Agricultural Economic Survey of Rockwall County, Texas," Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin* 327 (College Station, 1925); Charles E. Gibbons, "Child Labor Among Cotton

analysis the 21 states represented were divided into two broad regional groups: the Southern, including Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Texas; and the

Growers of Texas," National Child Labor Committee, *Publication No. 324* (New York, 1925); Irma H. Gross and M. R. Bosworth, "Insurance of Farm Families," Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin 133* (East Lansing, 1933); Lewis H. Haney and George S. Wehrwein (editors), "A Social and Economic Survey of Southern Travis County," University of Texas, *Bulletin No. 65* (Austin, 1916); Randall C. Hill, E. L. Morgan, Mabel V. Campbell, and O. R. Johnson, "Social, Economic, and Homemaking Factors in Farm Living," Missouri Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin 148* (Columbia, 1930); C. Horace Hamilton, "Recent Changes in the Social and Economic Status of Farm Families in North Carolina," North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station *Bulletin 309* (Raleigh, 1937); L. D. Howell, "The Relations of Economic, Social, and Educational Advancement of Farmers to Their Membership in Organizations," Oklahoma Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin 185* (Stillwater, 1929); E. L. Kirkpatrick, "The Standard of Life in a Typical Section of Diversified Farming," New York Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin 423* (Ithaca, 1923); E. L. Kirkpatrick and J. A. Dickey, "Living Conditions and Family Living in Farm Homes of Schoharie County, New York," U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics and New York State College of Agriculture, *Mimeographed Preliminary Report* (Washington, 1925); E. L. Kirkpatrick, "Housing Conditions Among 947 White Farm Families of Selected Localities of Texas," *Preliminary Report* (Washington, 1926); E. L. Kirkpatrick, J. H. Kolb, Inge Creagh, A. F. Wileden, "Rural Organizations and the Farm Family," Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station co-operating with U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Bulletin 96* (Madison, 1929); E. L. Kirkpatrick, P. E. McNall, and May L. Cowles, "Farm Family Living in Wisconsin," Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station co-operating with U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Bulletin 114* (Madison, 1933); W. F. Kumlien, "What Farmers Think of Farming," South Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station *Bulletin 223* (Brookings, 1927); Ellen LeNoir and T. Lynn Smith, "Rural Housing in Louisiana," Louisiana Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin 290* (University, 1937); C. E. Lively, "Family Living Expenditures on Ohio Farms," Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin 468* (Wooster, 1930); Charles P. Loomis, "The Growth of the Farm Family in Relation to Its Activities," North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin 298* (Raleigh, 1934); T. C. McCormick, "Farm Standards of Living in Faulkner County, Arkansas," Arkansas Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin 279* (Fayetteville, 1932); T. C. McCormick, "Rural Social Organization in Washington County, Arkansas," Arkansas Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin 285* (Fayetteville, 1933); T. C. McCormick, "Rural Social Organization in the Rice Area," Arkansas Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin 296* (Fayetteville, 1933); T. C. McCormick, "Rural Social Organization in South-Central Arkansas," Arkansas Agricultural Experiment Station *Bulletin 313* (Fayetteville, 1934); J. O. Rankin, "Nebraska Farm Homes," Nebraska Agricultural Experiment Station and U. S. Department of Agriculture co-operating, *Bulletin 191* (Lincoln, 1923); J. O. Rankin, "Nebraska Farm Tenancy," Nebraska Agricultural Experiment Station and U. S. Department of Agriculture co-operating, *Bulletin 196* (Lincoln, 1923); J. O. Rankin, "Cost of Feeding the Nebraska Farm Family," Nebraska Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin 219* (Lincoln, 1927); J. O. Rankin, "The Use of Time in Farm Homes," Nebraska Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin 230* (Lincoln, 1928); J. O. Rankin, "Housing and House Operation Costs on Nebraska Farms," Nebraska Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin 264* (Lincoln, 1931); J. O. Rankin and Eleanor H. Hinman, "A Summary of the Standard of Living in Nebraska Homes," Nebraska Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin 267* (Lincoln, 1932); Margaret G. Reid, "Status of Farm Housing in Iowa," Iowa Agricultural Experiment Station, *Research Bulletin 174* (Ames, 1935);

Northern, including New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, South Dakota, Nebraska, Montana and Colorado.

Generally speaking, these studies present data bearing on but two of the four criteria of social status previously indicated. That is, while most of the reports give information about the goods that people consume, or about their social participation, very few attempt to throw any light on the subjective aspects of social status.¹¹ The findings from

Jessie E. Richardson, "The Quality of Living in Montana Farm Homes," Montana Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin* 260 (Bozeman, 1932); Arthur F. Raper, *Preface to Peasantry: A Tale of Two Black Belt Counties* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1936); J. T. Sanders, "Farm Ownership and Tenancy in the Black Prairie of Texas," U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Bulletin* 1068 (Washington, 1922); J. T. Sanders, "The Economic and Social Aspects of Mobility of Oklahoma Farmers," Oklahoma Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin* 195 (Stillwater, 1929); Emilie W. Stevens and H. Estabrook, "North Carolina Farm Housing," North Carolina Experiment Station and North Carolina Department of Agriculture co-operating, *Bulletin* 301 (Raleigh, 1935); Lucy A. Studely, "Relationship of the Farm Home to the Farm Business," Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin* 279 (St. Paul, 1931); Carl C. Taylor and C. C. Zimmerman, *Economic and Social Conditions of North Carolina Farmers*, North Carolina Department of Agriculture, 1923; E. D. Tetreau, "Farm Family Participation in Lodges, Farm Bureau, Four-H Clubs, School and Church," Ohio State University and Agricultural Experiment Station, *Mimeographed Bulletin* 29 (Columbus, 1930); E. D. Tetreau, "Farm Equipment for Communication and Household Convenience as Found on 610 Farms, Madison and Union Counties, Ohio," Ohio State University and Agricultural Experiment Station, *Mimeographed Bulletin* 30 (Columbus, 1931); J. F. Thaden, "Standard of Living on Iowa Farms," Iowa Agricultural Experiment Station and U. S. Department of Agriculture co-operating, *Bulletin* 238 (Ames, 1926); Howard A. Turner and L. D. Howell, "Condition of Farmers in a White-Farmer Area of the Cotton Piedmont," U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Circular* 78 (Washington, 1929); G. H. Von Tungeln, E. L. Kirkpatrick, C. R. Hoffer, and J. F. Thaden, "The Social Aspects of Rural Life and Farm Tenantry in Cedar County, Iowa," Iowa Agricultural Experiment Station and U. S. Department of Agriculture co-operating, *Bulletin* 217 (Ames, 1923); G. H. Von Tungeln, J. F. Thaden, and E. L. Kirkpatrick, "Cost of Living on Iowa Farms," Iowa Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin* 237 (Ames, 1926); Mary B. Willeford, *Income and Health in Remote Rural Areas; A Study of 400 Families in Leslie County, Kentucky* (Frontier Nursing Service: New York, 1932); B. O. Williams, "Occupational Mobility Among Farmers," South Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin* 296 (Clemson, 1934).

Data from E. L. Kirkpatrick's "The Farmer's Standard of Living," U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Bulletin* No. 1466 (Washington, 1926), and from the study of T. J. Woolfer, Jr., cited above, were not included because their broad territorial scope created difficulties in the comparison of the findings. Harold Hoffsommer's "Landlord-Tenant Relations and Relief in Alabama," Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Division of Research, Statistics, and Finance, *Research Bulletin, Series II, No. 9* (Washington, 1935), and W. D. Nicholl's "Farm Tenancy in Central Kentucky," Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin* No. 303 (Lexington, 1930), both of which contain useful data on tenants, landlords, and their relationships, yielded no comparisons between owners and tenants.

¹¹ The most notable exception is the study of Haney and Wehrwein in which ". . . an attempt was made to ascertain whether people thought that there were 'social classes' in

individual studies were grouped by subject matter and classified on the basis of consistency into one of several categories.¹²

The first category consists of those items regarding which the owner, consistently throughout both South and North, is reported to be relatively better off than the tenant. To say that owners are "better off" in

the country and what they considered the basis for such social inequality other than the reasons mentioned.

"The questions asked to bring out these points were as follows: 'Any social inequalities or classes? What basis? Wealth, education, tenant vs. owner, religion, others.' . . . the tenants feel that wealth and being a tenant places people in social classes more so than the owners. Many, however, said, 'Our landlord is as common as we are.' Religious dissensions and superior education were mentioned by a few."

¹² It was occasionally necessary to rework some of the basic data to permit comparisons of the type desired. In the cases where more than one of the publications was based on a single field investigation the attempt was made to count a specific finding but once. The rules in accordance with which the findings were classified are as follows:

1. Each individual finding was counted as a unit (given a value of "1") and classified as "plus" (+) if the figure representing owners' consumption or participation was larger than that for tenants' consumption or participation; it was classified as "minus" (-) if the reverse relationship held true; and it was classified as "zero" (0) if the tenure difference seemed insignificant (e.g., less than one per cent).
2. With very few exceptions a finding was included in the table here presented only if data were available from at least two Southern and two Northern studies.
3. These topics or findings on which there were adequate data were classified into one of the following categories on the basis of consistency of the relative standing of the tenure classes within the two regions considered:
 - a. North, consistently plus; South, consistently plus (Table I, Category 1).
 - b. North, consistently plus; South, consistently minus (Table I, Category 4).
 - c. North, consistently minus; South, consistently plus (Table I, Category 5).
 - d. North, consistently minus; South, consistently minus (Table I, Category 6).
 - e. North, inconsistent; South, consistently plus (Table I, Category 2).
 - f. North, consistently plus; South, inconsistent (no findings fell in this category, hence it does not appear in Table I).
 - g. North, inconsistent; South, consistently minus (Table I, Category 7).
 - h. North, consistently minus; South, inconsistent (Table I, Category 8).
 - i. North, inconsistent; South, inconsistent (Table I, Category 3).
4. Classification of a topic as "consistent" or "inconsistent" was based upon the preponderance of evidence, rather than in accordance with a strict interpretation of "consistent" as involving all "plus" or all "minus" findings without any exception. The factors considered, where a topic was classified as consistent in spite of individual findings to the contrary, were as follows:
 - a. The higher the ratio of findings of one type to those of other types, the less weight was attached to the inconsistent finding.
 - b. The fewer the number of cases involved in the investigation yielding inconsistent results, the less weight was attached to the inconsistent finding.
 - c. Method of sampling was sometimes significant; where strictly random sample or complete enumerations were attempted, findings were regarded as more significant than if such was not known to be the case.
5. With the exception of a few studies which failed to disclose the precise meaning of the tenure class terms used, the tenure comparisons are based on figures for full owner operators and tenant operators.

this connection means merely that relatively more owners than tenants consume a specified good, tangible or intangible, or that owners consume relatively more of a good than do tenants.

The second category contains those items which are consistently reported on in the South (owners always being in a more favorable position than tenants), but which in the North are not consistently reported on; i.e., in the North sometimes owners and sometimes tenants are in the better relative position.

The third category consists of those findings in which both Southern and Northern investigators report no consistent tenure differences.

The fourth category is that in which owners in the North are consistently better off than tenants, but in the South the reverse relationship holds good.

Fifth is a finding in which the figure for tenants is consistently larger than that for owners in the North, whereas the reverse relationship holds true in the South.

The only item in the sixth category may have but little bearing on social status but it is included for the sake of completeness. This item is the only one regarding which, both in the South and in the North, the findings are consistently to the effect that the figure for tenants is larger than that for owners.

Seventh are those topics regarding which, in the South, consistently larger figures appear for tenants than for owners, but in the North inconsistency is found.

The last category consists of a single item regarding which Southern findings are inconsistent, but Northern findings regularly show the figure for tenants to exceed that for owners.

TABLE I
NUMBERS OF STUDIES REPORTING OWNERS TO BE BETTER OFF THAN
TENANTS (+), THE SAME AS TENANTS (0), OR WORSE OFF THAN
TENANTS (-), FOR SPECIFIED ITEMS, BY REGIONS

ITEM	North			South		
	+	0	-	+	0	-
Category 1						
a. Value of food produced on the farm.....	5	1	0	6	0	1
b. Value of house rental.....	8	0	1	3	0	0
c. Number of rooms per house, or relative space per member of household or family.....	8	0	1	10	1	0
d. Value of fuel produced on farm.....	2	0	0	3	0	0
e. Per cent reporting electric or gas lights.....	9	0	0	6	0	0
f. Per cent reporting furnace.....	11	0	0	2	2	0
g. Per cent reporting running water in house.....	11	0	0	6	0	0
h. Per cent reporting piano.....	5	0	1	3	0	0
i. Per cent reporting radio.....	6	0	0	1	1	0

TABLE I—CONTINUED

ITEM	North			South		
	+	0	-	+	0	-
j. Size of expenditures for "advancement," including "education"....	9	0	1	3	0	0
k. Per cent subscribing to newspaper.....	5	1	0	6	0	0
l. Number of books owned or purchased within a specified period....	2	0	0	4	0	0
m. Size of expenditures for recreation and social purposes.....	2	0	0	3	1	0
n. Size of contributions to church and/or charity.....	6	0	0	4	0	0
o. Size of net cash income.....	6	0	0	3	0	0
p. Per cent participating in religious organization (based on membership or attendance).....	8	0	1	4	0	0
q. Per cent holding office in private organization, or having held public office.....	3	0	0	2	0	0
Category 2						
a. Total value of food consumed.....	3	0	4	2	0	0
b. Size of expenditures for clothing.....	6	0	3	5	0	1*
c. Size of expenditures for household equipment.....	5	0	3	2	0	0
d. Per cent reporting telephones.....	6	3	1	7	0	0
e. Per cent reporting window screening.....	5	2	0	4	0	0
f. Per cent reporting washing machine.....	4	1	2	5	0	0
g. Per cent reporting refrigerator.....	1	0	1	6	0	0
h. Per cent reporting life insurance.....	4	0	2	3	0	0
i. Per cent subscribing to farm journals.....	3	1	1	5	0	0
j. Per cent subscribing to periodicals other than farm or religious journals.....	3	1	1	3	0	0
k. Years of public education received.....	2	1	4	5	0	1
l. Per cent reporting automobile.....	6	1	4	8	0	1
m. Gross income.....	2	0	2	6	0	0
n. Total reported expenditures.....	7	0	3	4	0	1
o. Per cent participating in all types of formally organized groups....	1	1	1	2	0	0
Category 3						
a. Size of expenditures for food.....	4	0	4	2	0	3
b. Per cent reporting sewing machine.....	1	0	1	2	0	1
c. Size of expenditures for health.....	8	0	2	1	0	2
d. Size of personal expenditures.....	4	1	2	2	1	0
e. Per cent participating in Sunday School.....	2	0	2	1	1	0
f. Per cent participating in men's fraternal organizations†.....	5	1	1	1	0	1
Category 4						
a. Per cent reporting phonograph.....	3	0	0	0	0	2
Category 5						
a. Per cent participating in all formally organized nonreligious groups‡.....	0	1	2	2	0	0
Category 6						
a. Per cent that value of purchased food is of all food consumed.....	0	0	3	0	0	3
Category 7						
a. Relative frequency of attendance at parties or dances 	2	0	1	0	0	3
b. Relative frequency of attendance at moving pictures.....	2	0	2	0	0	2
Category 8						
a. Relative frequency of social visiting.....	0	0	4	1	0	1

*According to the text of the report on which this finding is based, the size of owner's expenditures is greater than that of tenants' expenditures. On the strength of the figures appearing in a table accompanying the text, however, the finding was classified as "minus."

†Findings from only one Southern investigation are presented, but these show inconsistent tenure differences, there being relatively more owner participants in one lodge, and more tenant participants in another organization of the same type.

‡One Northern study has been counted twice because its findings on this point differ, depending upon whether membership or attendance is used as the criterion of participation.

||One Northern study is counted twice, the findings being "plus" on the basis of attendance at parties, but "minus" on the basis of attendance at dances.

Tenure class differences with respect to the consumption of goods and services among Southern colored farmers¹³ on the whole seem to follow those reported among Southern white farmers. Since the available data are limited it has been thought unnecessary to present them. The most significant race difference is with regard to income, both gross and net, white owners consistently being reported as receiving the larger income, whereas this is not consistently true of Negro owners.

III

In the course of the past two years a study entitled "The Social Correlatives of Farm Tenure" was made by the Resettlement Administration. This study was intended, among other things, to supplement available data on the topic here considered by emphasis on the subjective aspects of the problem, i.e., on farmers' attitudes and opinions.¹⁴ Some of the questions raised, and the returns yielded, may now be taken up. It should be pointed out that the data presented from this study unavoidably involve croppers and farm laborers as well as owners and renters. The area involved by the term "Northern" in this connection is restricted to the Corn Belt.

(1) The first question is one that was directed at farm owners: "Do you feel better off, from a business point of view, as a farm owner than you did before you became one?" Consistently, among Negroes and whites, in the South and the North, and by large majorities they say they feel better off as owners than they did before they became owners.

(2) The second question was asked of all nonowners: "Do you think you would feel better off if you owned this farm, but had a mortgage on it?" The majority of Southern nonowners reply that, even with mortgages, they would feel better off as owners. But the majority of

¹³ In the list of studies utilized, see those by Gabbard, Hamilton, Haney and Wehrwein, LeNoir and Smith, Raper, and Taylor and Zimmerman. See also two studies dealing exclusively with colored farmers: Donald D. Scarborough, "An Economic Study of Negro Farmers as Owners, Tenants and Croppers," University of Georgia, *Bulletin No. 376* (Athens, 1924), and W. S. Scarborough, "Tenancy and Ownership Among Negro Farmers in Southampton County, Virginia," United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, *Bulletin 1404* (Washington, 1926).

¹⁴ Complete schedule enumeration of farm families living in small block sample areas was attempted in four Corn Belt, and in eight Cotton Belt, states. In each state the cooperative assistance of agricultural experiment station officials was solicited and secured. Altogether over 2,400 schedules were taken, about 700 in the North, and the remainder from white and Negro farmers in the South. The field agents and supervisors of enumeration were born and reared in the regions in which they worked. In the effort to assure validity in the subjective data, exclusively colored schedule takers and supervisors were employed for interviewing Negro farmers in the South.

Northern nonowners, on the contrary, think they would *not* feel better off as mortgaged owners.

(3) Nonowners' replies to the question, "Do you think owners generally feel better off than renters?" disclose the fact that Northern nonowners are much less certain, relatively, than Southern nonowners, that farm ownership represents for them an unmixed blessing.

(4) "Are you seriously looking forward to owning a farm?" Southern renters, both white and colored, more frequently than those in the North, say "Yes," they are seriously looking forward to owning a farm.

(5) Nonowners who stated that they would like to buy some farm other than the one they were living on at that time were asked this question, "Would you want any help or advice in finding a suitable farm?" Nearly twice as large a proportion of Negro farmers as white Southern farmers say they would want such help or advice. Similar responses follow this question: "Would you want any advice from your creditor in running your farm?"

(6) All informants, regardless of tenure status, were confronted with the following statement and question: "The number of farm tenants in the United States has been increasing for a good many years. Do you think the government ought to do anything about it?" Although Negro farmers give affirmative responses more often than white farmers in the South, and although Southern farmers give affirmative responses more often than do Northern farmers, consistent tenure differences appear: Renters say "Yes," they think the government ought to do something about the increase of farm tenancy relatively more often than do owners.

(7) "If you had your choice, what would you prefer to have a son do for a living?" Among Negro farmers, both owners and renters, the majority say they would rather have their sons choose occupations other than farming; among Southern white farmers, likewise, less than half of owners and renters would prefer their sons to be farmers. Northern farmers most often respond that they have no preference, i.e., they say, "I would leave it up to him to decide for himself"; but of those specifying occupations, the majority prefer farming.

(8) If the informant expressed a preference for farming as the occupation desired for his son, he was asked whether he would prefer the son to be a farm owner. Overwhelming proportions, regardless of region or race, answer this question in the affirmative.

(9) Consistent tenure differences appear in response to the next question, however, which was asked only when preference was expressed

by the informant for farm ownership for his son: "Do you think the government ought to help him to become a farm owner?" In each comparison owners favor such assistance less often, relatively, than do renters or other nonowners. Racial and regional differences also appear, for the tenure differences in proportions of favorable responses are greatest in the North, smaller among Southern whites, and smallest among Negro farmers.

(10) "Compared with the average family in this neighborhood, do you think your family is better off, about the same as the average, or worse off? If different from the average, in what respects?" A larger proportion of owners than renters among Northern, Southern white, and Negro farmers say that they think their families, as compared with the average in their neighborhood, are "better off." Owners most frequently say that they are better off because of their ownership of, or possession of an equity in, a farm, farm land, or a home. The proportions specifying such factors are smallest in the North, larger among Southern whites, and largest among Negroes, thus again revealing regional and racial differences.

(11) "What class of people around here do you think is worst off? What do you think causes them to be worst off?" The members of each tenure class mention their own tenure class more frequently than any other as the class of people thought to be worst off. Agreement in answering these questions is closest, however, among farm laborers, less complete among croppers, still less complete among renters, and lowest among owners. Fewer Northern than Southern farmers give a definite response of any kind.

Another approach to the general question of social significance of tenure status may be made through the data on intra- and inter-tenure class marriages. In brief, although the tendency for farmers to marry into families of their own tenure class appears to be a significant one, in each of the three racial and regional groups of farmers considered, it is most consistent and most pronounced among Southern white farmers.

The findings in five out of six investigations reporting on tenure differences in frequency of social visiting show that tenants go visiting more frequently than owners.¹⁵ But little is known about the relationship of such contacts to tenure class of the family visited. In the study now under consideration, accordingly, about one-fifth of the total number of families interviewed were asked to indicate those families with

¹⁵ See Table I, category 8.

whom most frequent social contact took place during the schedule year. In each of the three racial and regional groups owners most frequently mention other owners' families as those with whom they have most frequent contact. Likewise, renter families are named most frequently by informants who are renters.

An even more intimate type of contact, and probably more significant as an index of social status, is the exchange of hospitality involving eating meals together. Among Southern white owners this type of contact is found to take place more frequently with nonfarm families than with other owner or with tenant families.¹⁶ Negro owners, on the other hand, exchange meals most frequently with other Negro owners' families. Northern owners report such contact least often with owners' families, the frequency rate being greater both for tenant and for nonfarm families. Southern white tenants exchange meals with other tenants' and with owners' families with about equal frequencies. Negro tenants exchange meals more frequently with laborers' families than with those of other tenant classes. Northern tenants are guests for meals most often at the homes of other tenants, and they play the rôle of host most often to nonfarm families, more often, in fact, than they are entertained by these nonfarm families. Southern tenants, on the contrary, not only entertain nonfarm families for meals less often than they are entertained by the latter, but this type of contact represents relatively a much smaller proportion of all their contacts than is true of Northern tenants. The significance of these findings, based as they are on very small numbers, can easily be exaggerated. But they suggest a rôle of independence on the part of Northern tenants which contrasts with a rôle of dependence on the part of Southern tenants, and point again to basic regional differences in the significance of tenure class.

IV

What is the net result of this inquiry regarding the social status of farm tenants? The following conclusions seem to be justified.

1. With respect to each of the four criteria suggested, significant tenure class differences do exist. Not only with regard to the consump-

¹⁶ It should be understood that contact of this type takes place invariably with members of the same race. With infinitesimal exceptions, visiting, likewise, was reported as taking place only with members of the same race. In view of the small numbers of cases available for analysis, Northern croppers were included with renters in the "tenant" category for the social interaction comparisons. The other categories were "owners," "farm laborers," and "nonfarm families."

tion of certain goods, and participation in certain types of formally and informally organized social life, but in the prestige held, and in the social and economic ideologies expressed, these differences have been found.

2. No less significant, however, are the regional variations with respect to these tenure class differences. In general, the implications of farm tenure class in the South are considerably different from those of farm tenure class in the North.

3. The preponderance of evidence seems to demonstrate conclusively that the social status of Southern white tenants is lower than that of Southern white owners.

4. The social status of Northern tenants, on the contrary, has not been conclusively demonstrated to be lower than that of Northern owners.

5. The limited data regarding Southern Negro farmers suggest tenure differences smaller in degree but similar in type to those found among Southern white farmers.¹⁷

6. Pronounced race differences exist, however, not only with respect to the consumption of goods and services, but especially with respect to attitudes, opinions, beliefs and aspirations.

7. Finally, regional and racial diversities in the implications of tenure status seem to outweigh in significance those similarities of implication which do exist.

V

Although it would be possible to consider the whole gamut of significant social factors—e.g., historical, geographical, biological, psychological, economic, and other cultural influences, in attempting to explain or account for these phenomena, only four considerations will be advanced.

In the first place, the Corn Belt is a region more recently settled than much of the Cotton Belt. Social stratification in the North in a few generations may become much more significant than it appears to be at the present time.

¹⁷ Although it has been impossible to present the evidence in this brief paper, an analysis was made of the data on Negro tenure differences appearing in the studies cited in footnote 16. See also the forthcoming preliminary report of the study dealt with in Part III of this paper under the title, "Social Status and Farm Tenure," United States Department of Agriculture, the Farm Security Administration and Bureau of Agricultural Economics co-operating, *Social Research Report No. IV*, by the present writer, in which especial attention is paid to racial and regional variations in tenure differences.

Second, there are much larger proportions of "owners-in-prospect," to use Galpin's apt expression, among Northern than among Southern tenants. This factor tends to modify seriously the significance of sociological tenure class comparisons both within the North and when Northern tenure differences are compared with those in other regions. Tenancy does not exist in a social vacuum, but is powerfully influenced by the nature of the social bonds, the relationships, of tenant to landlord, other than those of a purely economic or legal nature. This is particularly obvious in the case of large-scale forms of agriculture. As the third factor, then, may be pointed out the early appearance of the plantation in the South and its subsequent diffusion to suitable areas throughout the region.

Closely related to the plantation there is, finally, the system of mores and folkways characterizing the biracial Southern population, a system which amounts practically to the caste form of social organization. Its functioning has apparently served not only to depress the height of the social pyramid among Negro farmers, and to intensify the competition between lower tenure class members of both castes, but to emphasize tenure class differences among white farmers in the South.

Trends in Extension Sociology¹

*Howard W. Beers**

ABSTRACT

Rural sociology should be an integral part of the extension structure, not merely an accessory. Its chief obligation to extension work is to help orient the whole program. The trend in extension work from solitary activity of specialists to a group or clinical approach provides a new opportunity to make this contribution. Rural sociology should contribute also some of its careful research attitudes and analytical methods to extension work. Finally, rural sociology, in co-operation with other fields should approach the solution of what laymen call "social problems."

This paper is neither a report of research nor in any sense a formal proposal. Its argument claims no authority but the writer's present judgment. Chiefly a personal exercise in professional adjustment, it represents an effort to think analytically in a field of controversy. Prepared as a statement to fellow rural sociologists, rather than to extension administrators or to workers in other fields, it is read only to help clarify issues, and to stimulate the discussion from which tentative agreement may develop.

The Co-operative Extension Service in Agriculture and Home Economics is a farm, home, and community representative of the agricultural colleges. Now only in its late twenties it has a widespread and well-established structure. Its success is generally recognized and public opinion considers it to have passed some time ago the period of experimental development. Legislative creation in 1914 of the extension service preceded by one year publication of the first experiment station research bulletin in rural sociology. While the extension service has penetrated nearly every agricultural county of our nation, rural sociological research has grown to respectable proportions. During the same period rural sociology has acquired status as an academic discipline. Still more recently, however, a handful of "specialists" in rural sociology have been treading new ground within the extension service, working in

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¹ This paper was read before the Section on Rural Sociology, American Sociological Society, Atlantic City, December 29, 1937.

mingled confidence and uncertainty. Gradually they have been clarifying their own purposes and testing various ways of relating their work to other extension activity. Historically, the problem of professional adjustment in extension sociology has existed for so short a time it can hardly yet be identified.

However, as efforts to test and clarify proceed, it is important to consider two possible but opposite conceptions of extension work. First, there is the assumption of a static extension structure in which a certain permanence of organization and program has been achieved, in which institutionalization has already occurred and in which change is unlikely. On the basis of this assumption, rural sociology can become no more than an adjunct or an accretion to the structure, and an extension sociologist's job analysis is quickly reduced to such questions as this: "What specific details belong in a plan of work for my project?" or "How can I fit the traditional rôle of extension specialist, keeping my program distinct from other extension programs, yet working effectively to improve human relationships in rural life?"

However, there is a second possible assumption from which we are much more likely to think constructively. It is the assumption of a flexible extension structure which, though well-established, is young enough to change with reasonable ease and speed. Of course, adjustment is not to be expected without changes in underlying needs and surrounding pressures, but such changes in setting are evident. New and emergent agricultural skills outmode the old. The position of the individual farmer changes with respect to the rest of society. Pressure group struggles strain the working techniques of democracy, and portend unpredictable redistributions of social control. Demands for adult education run through the whole social structure, notably labor groups and the urban middle classes. Certainly change is more probable than permanence.

The assumption of flexibility is, therefore, more realistic than that of rigidity. Yet we extension sociologists seem not always to state our problem in terms of the realistic assumption. Wanting to be practical we are likely to become absorbed in immediate program details before we have made peace with a more fundamental question, namely, that of determining what sociology should contribute to extension education. Wanting to be practical we take the extension structure "as is" and work to fit ourselves into its traditional pattern.

With reference to soils, crops, or livestock one can be more obviously practical than with reference to social organization. We should by all

means retain our wish to be practical, but we should not let seeming frustration of this wish leave us with a complex of professional inferiority that is manifest in some form of overcompensation. We expose ourselves to this difficulty when we accept the judgment of workers in other fields as to what is a practical sociology program. The problem of how to be practical in sociology may not be soluble in the same terms as the parallel problem in, for example, poultry husbandry. At any rate, the first task is to select a job about which to be practical. If we assume a static extension structure, our range of selection is too limited. By thinking from the assumption of flexibility, however, we can phrase our problem differently. We can think of rural sociology not merely as an integer, but as a possible integral; not as an accessory, but as a possible guiding influence. Sooner or later, of course, we will arrive at the question of what, specifically, must be done today and tomorrow, but first we are free to ask how sociology can help the extension service to improve rural life. This question merits first attention and its answer must precede any formulation of a specialist's program.

In determining our contribution to extension work, we can give less attention to interscholastic debates about the nature and scope of sociology than might have been thought necessary a few years ago. There are many definitions of sociology, but they have a least common denominator in the concept of relationships among people, or interhuman relationships. It is interesting and important to note that our current rural sociology appraisal committee gave no space to arguments over definition, and in his recent discussion of "Sociology on the Spot," Carl C. Taylor deplored such debate.

I

The chief obligation of sociology to extension work is (in co-operation with sister fields) to give it orientation. However, within the current year Wileden has noted a tendency for extension administrators and even extension sociologists "to regard rural sociology as a technique or limited area of activity, such as the group discussion method or work with the older youth group."

A similar observation was made in the 1932 Social Science Research Monograph on *Rural Sociological Adult Education in the United States*. In contributing to this monograph, Hummel wrote the following statement of caution: "If the program of extension in rural sociology is considered simply as another specialized service bearing the same rela-

tionship to the other phases of the extension program and the condition of rural life that poultry, dairy, or horticulture bear to each other or to the program in general then the concept of sociology . . . has been lost sight of and a specialized service program masquerades in the name of the science of human society."

If, as Taylor says, sociology is now on the spot, extension sociology is doubly on the spot because of this restricted interpretation of our job. It is an interpretation made largely by laymen in sociology, but it seems to have secured wide acquiescence among those of us who are sociologists by profession.

Looking backward over the development of the Co-operative Extension Service in Agriculture and Home Economics, we recall that during the first years emphasis was on efficient production. Economic questions, especially production costs, then marketing received later consideration. Recently social issues have been recognized. A gradual tendency toward shift in orientation of the whole extension program is apparent. The importance of what laymen call "the human factors" or "human values" or "the human problems" of agriculture now can be talked about, even in the presence of production-cost experts and soil fertility specialists. The word "sociology" can be used in conversation with laymen. Giving the whole extension structure orientation, keeping it in gear with the social structure is then the first responsibility of sociology, working in team with economics and psychology.

It is not hard to demonstrate that most extension activity occurs in a social environment, involves manipulation of interhuman relationships, and thus impinges upon or actually enters the field of rural sociology. A sample of six episodes drawn from extension work in one state during the last year is offered as illustration.

One extension worker sits in committee with five State Grange lecturers to help work out a lecturer's conference program.

A second worker meets with the board of directors of a co-operative auction market to advise with them on membership relations.

A third worker confers with several representatives of rural organizations about arrangements for a discussion group program.

A fourth worker outlines the program for a three-day extension short course in social development.

A fifth worker arranges plans for a four-day recreation institute.

A sixth worker discusses organization problems at a conference of local leaders.

The list might be continued at length with similar selected activities of other extension workers, but a riddle may now be stated: Which of

these six workers is the extension rural sociologist? Perhaps you have guessed that he is not listed. The individuals mentioned are in order: the state director of extension, a marketing specialist, a farm management specialist, a parent education specialist, a county home demonstration agent, a county agricultural agent.

For any one activity such as those listed, the extension worker needs an approach in which economic, psychological, and sociological knowledge and experiences are well integrated. It can be said that the method and content of rural sociology are pertinent to every such activity, without proposing that every such activity be reserved for a rural sociologist.

II

Within this changing orientation of extension work there is an element of prophecy that clinical activity among staff workers may supersede the solitary functioning of specialists. Channelized project activity on the part of any specialist may become increasingly the exception and not the rule. There are several fields of extension activity that already resist confinement.

Agricultural engineering, for example, reaches into the projects of many subject matter specialists. The agricultural engineering specialist helps home management people arrange kitchens and hold equipment clinics; he plans barns with the dairy specialist, brooding equipment with the poultry specialist, machinery with the agronomists, spray equipment with the fruit specialist.

Child training and parent education are activity fields that merge sociology and psychology, and that relate definitely to many extension activities. The attitude of a father who owns grade cattle toward a 4-H club boy who wants a purebred calf illustrates the point. Even parent education and agricultural engineering may come together if a boy's use of sharp tools brings him up against parental displeasure. The nutritionist's problem of food dislikes, the clothing specialist's problem of recommending homemade garments for a socially timid daughter—these things come into parent education.

Marketing furnishes another illustration. The marketing specialist finds himself working with the farm management specialist, the vegetable specialist, the agronomist, the nutritionist, and the agricultural engineering specialist on one problem. Consumer attitudes, selection of a marketable variety, alterations of grading machinery, balance in the farm enterprise, use of fertilizers—all are involved. If low cost pro-

duction involves the use of unpaid family labor, perhaps even the parent education specialist is not outside the problem. If co-operative marketing is under consideration, there are problems involved that are more than just matters of economic organization.

Perhaps the day of the specialist gives way already to the day of the clinic, and the extension staff is to function more and more groupwise with an integrated program. Here and there it is being suggested seriously that there should be extension psychologists to co-ordinate all of extension activity, and particularly to train extension teachers. Here and there it is being recommended that, since the family remains central to rural life, an extension parent-educator or family-life specialist should be the co-ordinator of many extension activities. Here and there among economists it is being said that there are many farm management men, many marketing men, many research methodologists, many economic statisticians, many commodity experts, but there is a dearth of general economists with an integrated point of view. Many signs then point to increase in group or integrated activity on the part of extension workers. In this trend, is there not new need for the sociologist, who can lead in identifying and interpreting problem situations and can help to organize and point extension efforts at problem solution?

III

In planning specifically for extension work in sociology we are likely to think of it as a field distinct from classroom teaching or from research. This judgment is partly true and partly false. Although extra-mural in type, extension work is definitely a teaching activity, and it should never be divorced completely from teaching just because we have a phobia with reference to being academic. Even more important, however, is the caution that extension sociology must never lose the tentative and experimental attitude from which good research work also springs. A threefold partition of our field following too literally the triple function of agricultural colleges, would justify some concern on the part of all workers in rural sociology. For each type of activity there must be specialization, but let it be specialization "within," not specialization "without."

We are likely to find a larger part of extension sociology's job to be diagnostic or interpretative, not merely a matter of doing things to people and their communities. We will be analyzing and drawing something from the community, not merely taking to it an organiza-

tional harness made elsewhere. We will be doing things with people as much as to people. Investigation and fact-finding should be a definite part of extension work, not as a search for fundamental laws of human behavior, but as a basis of extension operations. Rural sociology should put into extension work some of the visual acuity of its research men, some of their techniques of careful observation, and some of their capacity for preliminary objectivity. This will be more than ever necessary if rural sociology is to take its proper responsibility as a counsel to all extension activity.

IV

Three general suggestions have now been argued. If this point of view should receive acceptance, sociology would help orient the whole extension structure, it would participate with other subject matter fields in joint educational programs, and it would help observe and interpret rural life.

There remains to be discussed the problem of "social problems." There are in the rural community, as elsewhere, poverty, delinquency and crime, ill health, family disorganization, inadequate education, maladjustment of institutions, conflict between farm laborer and farmer-employer, poor sanitation, and the whole gamut of phenomena called social problems. Has extension sociology no concern with these? To anyone on the outside of our professional ingroup, social problems are the province of sociology. To everyone on the inside of our professional ingroup, social problems are the common concern of society. Especially during a depression, popular attention focuses on maladjustment, and the public looks to sociologists for solutions of social problems. However, these problems are ordinarily not subject to the control of any specialist. The "social problem" of the family on a small income farm is a matter for the common concern of home economics specialists, agricultural economics and farm management specialists, sociologists, and others. The only fallacy implicit in the attitude of laymen (and it is a very fundamental fallacy) is that *only sociologists* need be concerned, when actually a so-called social problem demands the concerted concern of many professions and institutions. The sociologist's failure is that he does not explain this circumstance convincingly to the layman. To the layman who challenges sociology with a reference to social problems, we should not hesitate to admit our responsibility, at the same time correcting the challenge so that it includes also the challenger. This is especially important if the layman is an economist, a psychologist, an

administrator, or an educator. Only the true generalist is a specialist in social problems.

Some critics like to change the "spot" metaphor that Dr. Taylor has used and refer to sociologists as being "in the air." This makes it possible for them to tell sociologists to "get down to earth," implying that they should *do* things about concrete social problems. Perhaps the reason some sociologists don't get down to earth is that they have been put up in the wrong air with no earth under them. Ultimate earth for the extension sociologist is the same dirt on which all extension workers must stand.

Something indeed should be done about rural problems, and most rural problems are social. The sociologist should do something about them, but not alone or in channelized activity. All extension work should have some orientation in this direction, and its representatives should attack in groups rather than by specialties. Sometimes sociology need not even lead the attack.

The discussion in this paper has been kept to the basic question of how rural sociology should help the extension service to improve rural life and it has not attempted to outline a specialist's plan of work. The comments are prompted, however, by a conviction that rural sociology is moving into a period of greater service to extension work and to all adult education than it has been able to offer in the past. If it meets the large challenge of helping to focus these educational programs, of encouraging program integration, of helping to find and interpret facts about rural life, and of co-operating in the solution of social problems, its field of action will increase greatly in size and importance.

Some Problems of the Extension Rural Sociologist¹

*D. E. Lindstrom**

ABSTRACT

Extension work in rural sociology, carried on under the Smith-Lever Law enacted in 1914, is relatively new; the earliest efforts predated the enactment of the law, however. Efforts under the law began earliest, probably, in New York, Missouri, Iowa, and Wisconsin.

Administrators are now facing problems in human and group relationships as they never have before; the more specific and concrete the help offered by the rural sociologists, the more their assistance will be sought and used.

Problems faced by extension rural sociologists (1) relate to the development of a program which will fit into the terms of the Smith-Lever Law, (2) include efforts to reinterpret and make of practical use subject matter from the field of sociology which calls for judgment as to what subject matter to use, and (3) pertain to relating the work in rural sociology to other fields of extension work.

The interests of the extension rural sociologist differ in degree only from those of the research worker or teacher; there is need for placing values upon findings so that they may be applied to practical situations in the field.

Extension work in rural sociology is relatively new, especially that which has been carried on under the Smith-Lever Law enacted by Congress in 1914. True, the pioneering work done by Charles J. Galpin in his years at Wisconsin, by E. L. Morgan in Massachusetts and Missouri, by R. E. Hieronymus in Illinois, and by others in the so-called pioneering period, dating back before the enactment of the Smith-Lever Law, was carried on almost as early as the work of Seaman A. Knapp, oft-times called the "father" of extension demonstration work. Thus by no means has all of the extension work in rural sociology been carried on under Federal administration and in the various states under the Smith-Lever Act since its enactment. Many teachers and research workers in rural sociology, such as Professor Hall of Purdue, have been doing effective extension work in rural sociology as time and funds permitted. One of the most important problems confronting this group, therefore,

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¹ A paper delivered before the Section on Rural Sociology, American Sociological Society, Atlantic City, New Jersey, December 29, 1937.

it seems to me, is to get an adequate recognition of the fine work that has been done "on the outside" of the administration of the Smith-Lever Act, to correlate this work more closely with work now being done under the Act and to secure greater financial support from the administrators for rural sociology extension work as a whole.

We are now at the place where concerted and united efforts by rural sociologists would, I believe, aid in bringing about such recognition. Administrators in many of our institutions of learning are eager for a further clarification of what the field of rural sociology is, and how it can be applied, for they are facing problems in human and group relationships as they never have before. The more specific and concrete the help offered by the rural sociologists, the more their assistance will be sought and used.

The first work in rural sociology extension administered under the Smith-Lever Act came earliest, probably, in New York, Missouri, Iowa, and Wisconsin. The approaches in each instance, although in general similar, were not alike in specific detail. Time does not permit a description of these approaches, but in each case the workers were confronted with the problem of demonstrating just how the work could be financed under the terms of the Smith-Lever Act. This meant that the workers had to convince the administrators not only of the practicability of the work, and in some cases of its value, but also that it was work which could be carried out under the provisions of the Act. Many of the workers in the field are still struggling with this problem. Some of the earlier workers had to show how rural sociology extension, especially that which flowed through stimulation of group activity, even though it be through music, drama, and recreation, could possibly "make two blades of grass grow where one grew before," or in any way directly increase the income of the farmer. Fortunately, in recent years the interpretation of the Smith-Lever Act has become broader; administrators recognize more fully that increased incomes are but the means to an end, that the end is a better type of life on the farm and in the rural community, and that even good music, drama, and social recreation, referred to by some as "bean bag throwing," do make for a better life on the farm.

May I make clear at this point that although many programs in rural sociology extension under the Smith-Lever Act did emphasize music, drama, and recreation at the beginning, none of them to my knowledge at the present time is confined to these activities. Moreover, most of

them carrying on activities in music, drama, and recreation have underlying objectives which fall directly into the field of rural sociology extension.

The underlying objectives may have recognized, for example, that teaching people how to play together wholesomely may have some effect on getting them to work together more effectively on their common problems. A mere glance at the history of conflict between farm groups during the last ten years will impress one with the need for greater understanding among farmers and a greater faith in each other; and certainly the techniques used by rural sociology extension workers in the field of social recreation have materially improved understanding. Most extension programs in rural sociology have as a basis these human problems; the particular approach made in each instance is that which will make a beginning, at least, in helping to solve those problems.

Closely related to the problem of developing a program of rural sociology extension which would meet the terms of the Smith-Lever Act was the problem of reinterpreting and making of practical use subject matter from the field of sociology. Some of the difficulty has been on the part of the worker—that is, to translate his concepts into terms understood by the people with whom he works. He may have known the meaning of the term “ethnocentrism,” for example, but to use it in his field contacts without considerable conditioning on the part of the people he contacted might be suicidal. He would be more likely to use his knowledge of its application in situations with which he was confronted than to use the word itself. Such knowledge is invaluable, for example, to a discussion leader, for to get discussion from a group he must be able to get each person to feel that he is in the center of a universe, so that that person can rate other people’s acts and expressions in terms of the amount of similarity arising from his own acts and experiences.² Moreover, the extension rural sociologist is often embarrassed if he uses much sociological terminology, because his fellow workers in the extension field are themselves frequently not grounded in the field of sociology just as he is not grounded in their fields of skilled endeavor. Whatever facts or principles are presented in the field of extension must therefore be adapted to use in the field. Not too much thought and help have been given to this problem by teachers and re-

² “By ethnocentrism we mean the habit of looking at other people, their behavior, and their products in terms of one’s own behavior experiences and products.” Elio B. Monachesi, “Sociology and Culture,” in Emerson P. Schmidt, *Man and Society* (N. Y., 1937), p. 3.

search workers in rural sociology, chiefly because of the difference in the situation in which they work in comparison with that confronting the extension man. Whereas, for example, a teacher can have frequent contact with and exercise some degree of control over his class, requiring certain study, the extension worker must depend upon the one contact per year or so and in that contact give the kind of information that will help solve the immediate problems of the people with whom he works.

Related also to the problem of reinterpreting subject matter is the problem of what subject matter to use. By the very nature of the field, research in rural sociology has been directed to finding facts, which in many cases turned out to be quite superficial and therefore all but useless; to testing methods of research, which obviously are useful chiefly in research; or in isolating principles and describing processes. It is my feeling that research in the last mentioned field has been the most useful to the extension rural sociologist. He finds his greatest field of service in helping rural people improve their group activities, organizations, and relationships. Much more research is needed in this field.

The necessity for isolating usable subject matter and reinterpreting it for use in the field is borne in on the extension sociologist when he comes to build a plan of work which will not only satisfy the administrator, but also fit into the situation in which he finds himself. If he can fit the plan to the situation, he need have little fear of not securing administrative approval. He must therefore ask himself what are the present social problems confronting farm people. (I might have said rural people, and would do so were the term "rural" to be defined "pertaining to agriculture"; for only thus can the extension rural sociologist place a fence around his field.) A study of the plans of work for rural sociologists will give a very good idea of what they feel are the problems, and what their administrators agree can be done, under the Smith-Lever Act. A study of these plans of work will be fruitful for anyone interested in what is now recognized as rural sociology extension. Several men, such as Stacy, Wileden, and Hummel can furnish such plans. The Illinois plan^a states that "the task of extension work in rural sociology is to help the farm people of the state make such human and group relationships as will result in improved social and economic conditions for them." It includes five phases, each developed as a result of problems presented—namely: (1) assistance to community leaders in

^a See "Extension Work in Rural Sociology," by Lindstrom and Regnier, University of Illinois, College of Agriculture, publication RSE-29.

analyzing local situations, developing organizational plans to meet these situations, and working out programs for groups and organizations to improve local conditions among farm people; (2) to aid in organizing and carrying on supplementary activities in music, drama, and recreation; (3) to help train leaders to carry on discussion; (4) to give assistance in conferences to improve rural-urban or intergroup relationships; and (5) to fill speaking engagements to interpret rural social studies and discuss trends. Each phase must be related to a specific problem; requests are made for help in extension work in rural sociology when the people making the request face a social problem. For example, many county program building committees faced the problem of getting more people provided with extension service; they recognized the need for local group organization if the service of the one or two county agents was to be brought to larger numbers effectively; the extension worker in rural sociology could and did contribute to the solution of this problem.

Then, the rural sociology extension worker has the problem of relating the work he is doing to other fields of extension work. None of the work of the subject matter specialists is unrelated. The dairy specialist must concern himself with crops, and the horticulturist with soils, and all of them deal with men, women, and children. It has been pointed out many times that whereas the crops man, for example, is directly interested in the crops and only indirectly in the man, the rural sociologist has as his first concern the man. A great deal of misunderstanding can arise on this point, resulting in lack of co-operation between the crops man and the rural sociologist. The difference is only in approach, or the means used to attain the end—a better life on the farm. If the rural sociologist can help teach the man how he can improve his relationship with his neighbor, thus making it easier for the crops specialist to teach him improved practices, then both fields of subject matter are instrumental in attaining the desired end.

The rural sociology extension worker must understand that he is not the only extension worker dealing with problems of human relationships. Almost every extension specialist, if he is to plan a program which he hopes will be carried out, thinks not only in terms of subject matter but also of leaders, groups, and procedures which can be used in carrying his recommendations into effect. The problem of the sociologist is to so relate himself to this work that he can strengthen it and in

every way assist in improving leader selection and training processes, organizational procedures, and group activities.

Rural sociology extension workers are thus concerned with cause and effect in human relationship. They are interested in values, ends, and objectives in human relationship. Their interests are different in degree only, it seems to me, from those of the research worker or teacher, for the research worker, though he claims to be interested only in pure science, is also interested in results. His theories, if they are worth checking, are based on the premise that to find new principles or processes will make for improvement and will be useful to his fellow man.

May I close with this plea, then, that research workers recognize the need for placing values upon findings, so that they may be applied to practical situations in the field.

Rural Life in Modern American Poetry

Lewis H. Chrisman*

ABSTRACT

Early American poetry was bookish rather than vital. Consequently it comparatively seldom reflected American rural life. But during the nineteenth century our national poetry became more American and more rural. Whittier's "Snow-Bound" is one of our most sincere and convincing poems of American country life. Like many lesser poems of its type it appealed especially to the home-sick New Englander in the city or on the plains of the Middle West. The outstanding contributions to the poetry of the American countryside have been those of the past 25 years. Carl Sandburg is not only the poet of the hasting crowds of Chicago streets, but he is just as certainly the depicter of the broad acres of prairie farms and the men and women upon them. The poetry of rural New England of Robert Frost is as genuine as that of Whittier. It shows a first-hand contact with country life and bucolic tasks. Stephen Vincent Benét gives some delightful glimpses of the fertile and beautiful land of the Pennsylvania German farmer. Paul Engle is making some significant contributions in verse to the literature of the Middle Border. Poetry of American rural life has been rather scant considering the fact that throughout practically all of our history we have been predominantly a rural people, yet it comprises an important part of our national literature.

Literature is interpretation of life. Therefore, it is a synthetic subject. To detach it from other fields in the curriculum would be an absolute impossibility. George Bernard Shaw once wrote to Mark Twain: "I am persuaded that the future historian of America will find your works as indispensable to him as a French historian finds the political tracts of Voltaire." In both prose and poetry social trends and forces are reflected and interpreted. Vernon L. Parrington's distinguished work, *Main Currents in American Thought*, which received the Pulitzer prize in history for 1928, is primarily a study of the social, economic, and political backgrounds of American literature. No social historian of any people can ignore those aspects of its national life revealed upon the pages of its poets.

American poetry as a whole does not adequately depict and interpret country life and ways. Although we have been until comparatively recently a rural people, most of our poetry has been sylvan and urban. In the earliest days our poets were bookish rather than vital. They were re-

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hashers of English verse. In their verse the English lark soared over the hills of Massachusetts and the nightingale sang in the pastures of Connecticut. There are, nevertheless, a few exceptions to this bookishness.

One of the first genuinely American poems was "Hasty Pudding" by Joel Barlow. Being written abroad, it is one of the many poems of nostalgia. It is primarily a glorification of the distinctively American daintiness of mush and milk. But it is more than this. It is a series of pictures of New England rural life in late colonial days. Probably the highest point is its description of an old-fashioned husking.

Of the poets of the nineteenth century who have loomed so large in the history of American literature William Cullen Bryant was a poet of the hills and woods, rather than of rural life as such. He never broke away sufficiently from his English sources to depict the familiar, homely, rustic scenes which he must have known among the Berkshire Hills of his youth. Of the poets of the New England renaissance Longfellow and Holmes were thoroughly city-minded. Emerson is probably too big to be labeled, but he was primarily a villager. Although he was interested in farmers and farm life, his poetry does not show it. Lowell in his Bigelow Papers reveals much insight into rural ways and characters. But the poet of the New England countryside of the last century was John Greenleaf Whittier, for whom it might be easy even yet to make a strong case as the outstanding poet of American rural life. Whittier's knowledge of the farm and its setting was first-hand. Again and again he gives positive evidence of this. This is especially true of poems like "The Huskers," "The Drovers" and "Telling the Bees." It is even more marked in "Snow-Bound." Nowhere do we find a more complete and convincing picture of the New England farm of a century ago.

Whittier was an idealizer of the past. For him the days gone by were always gilded over with a rosy glow of romance. As the poet luxuriated in memories of his youth there was no thought of toil, poverty, monotony, limited horizons and narrow outlook. In him there is no psychoanalyzing of the community scandals of a generation or of the tragedies of inhibited personalities. Yet he is realistic enough to be convincing. A recent interpreter of American literature gives in the following words the reason for the wide appeal of Whittier and the many others who with more or less skill struck the same chords: "The farm, the village ways, harsh enough in actuality, seemed, to the barefoot boys who had gone to New York or were making their fortunes in State Street, merry and jolly or softly sweet as Goldsmith's scenes of Auburn. They liked

to remember their school days, the wadded hoods, the knitted caps and mittens, the snow-bound evenings under the lamp, the games, the slates and pencils, rosy apples in the dish, nutting time, coasting time. Sawing wood in the frosty air had surely seemed less dull than adding figures. This was the theme of a hundred poems and stories that multiplied with time, as the farm became a universal symbol—the farm, the weather-painted house and barn, the well-sweep, the orchard, the sandy field surrounded by the woods, the small blue lake at the foot of the hill. No New England boy or man could ever forget the country, the cider-making days of old, the heaps of golden apples under the trees, the cider mill worked by the plodding horse and all agush with autumn juices.”¹

Something of the same type of appeal was made later by James Whitcomb Riley and other poets who were writing at the turn of the century. By this time New England geographically and otherwise comprised a smaller section of American life. Farm memories for many now included broad acres in the Middle West. Riley was a product of Indiana, a state in many ways typical of the entire “Valley of Democracy.” Memories of an Indiana farm would be sufficiently similar to those of farms in other states to insure to poems based upon it a general appeal. Riley’s poetry of the soil is not so genuine as that of Whittier. The poet had never been a farm boy, but his contacts with rural life had been close enough to enable him to avoid blunders when he wrote about it. Where Whittier idealized Riley sentimentalized. His farmers are stage figures rather than human beings. They are always kindly, gracious, fence-corner, barnyard philosophers, fairly oozing with good cheer and super-amiability. Yet these pictures of farmers and farms drawn in primary colors made a wide appeal. The big majority of readers are not particularly critical, especially when their emotions are involved. Nevertheless, in spite of the theatrical elements in Riley’s verse, there are times when his farm atmosphere is convincing.

From this point of view we see him at his best in “Old Aunt Mary’s.” Here as usual we have memories painted with roseate hues. In Riley’s past there was nothing of the sordid, the despicable, or the tragic.

It all comes so clear today!
Though I am as bald as you are gray—

¹ Van Wyck Brooks, *The Flowering of New England* (New York, 1936), p. 407. Used by permission of E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc.

Out by the barn-lot, and down the lane,
 We patter along in the dust again,

 We cross the pasture, and through the wood
 Where the hammering 'red-heads' hopped awry,
 And the buzzard 'raised' in the 'clearing' sky
 And lolled and circled, as he went by,
 Out to Old Aunt Mary's.²

In spite of the invariable saccharine sentimentality there is enough of the genuine in Riley's poems of the soil to make it imperative that they be considered in any appraisal of poems reflecting the country life of the Middle West.

But the most authentic contribution to this field of poetry has been made in our own generation. He who is not familiar with the poems of Robert Frost is unacquainted with some of America's most vital and valuable interpretations of country life and personalities. Although Frost was born in California he is a descendant of generations of New Englanders and has spent much of his life in the land of his ancestors. At times he has been a "dirt farmer." In his poetry there is ample evidence that he has picked apples, loaded hay, rebuilt stone fences and prepared a prize pullet for the Amesbury Fair. "The Death of the Hired Man," one of his most distinctive poems, is a notable addition to the literature of the farm. This particular hired man was one of a type once found in many country communities. He was essentially a tramp although he would stop at certain farms and work for a month or two at a time and likely leave just when he was needed most. The analysis in the poem is highly convincing to any of us who have had contact with this now-extinct rural figure. Three other figures appear. One is the young college boy, Harold Wilson, who worked and argued with Silas in the hay field and who would not believe that the old man could find water with the help of a forked stick. The other two are the kindly, shrewd, impatient farmer and his understanding, sympathetic wife.

It takes one familiar with the details of farm work to get the subtle touches which are to be found in Frost. For example, in "The Death of the Hired Man" Warren comments on Silas's skill in loading hay:

I know, that's Silas's one accomplishment.
 He bundles every forkful in its place,
 And tags and numbers it for future reference,

² James Whitcomb Riley, *Afterwhiles* (Indianapolis, 1903), p. 38. Used by permission of The Bobbs-Merrill Co.

So he can find and easily dislodge it
 In the unloading. Silas does that well.
 He takes it out in bunches like big birds' nests.
 You never see him standing on the hay,
 He's trying to lift, straining to lift himself.³

There is something of the same verisimilitude in "After Apple-Picking." Who that does any kind of manual work has not found himself doing it as he drifts to the land of slumber? No wonder that in the apple picker's dreams there appear and disappear magnified apples, "stem and blossom end," and that as he drowns off he hears the rumbling sound of load on load of apples coming in.

In "Mending Wall" there is the same evidence of direct contact. Two neighbors at spring mending time are walking along the wall which serves as the boundary between the pine trees on the farm of one and the other's apple orchards. Their task is to put in place the boulders that have fallen on each side during the winter. One of them questions the use of what they are doing and intimates that there is no danger of the pines or the apple trees trespassing. The other, rooted in traditional standards, has a definite answer. It is his father's saying, "Good fences make good neighbors."

There are numerous poems of Frost's that have as their bases studies of rural psychology. For example, "A Servant of Servants" is a dramatic monologue revealing the inner life of a lonely, overworked, neurotic housewife. "The Code" is an account of an incident in a hayfield which also shows the bondage to traditional methods of doing things. The title poem of Frost's *New Hampshire* is rich in social psychology. It is also a dramatic monologue, the speaker being a New Hampshire farmer who comments upon his state and divers other subjects.

She's one of the two best states in the Union.
 Vermont's the other. And the two have been
 Yoke-fellows in the sap-yoke from of old
 In many Marches. And they lie like wedges,
 Thick end to thin end and thin end to thick end,

.
 Both are delightful states for their absurdly
 Small towns—Lost Nation, Bungey, Muddy Boo,
 Poplin, Still Corners . . .⁴

³ Robert Frost, *North of Boston* (New York, 1914), pp. 18-19. Used by permission of Henry Holt and Co.

⁴ Robert Frost, *New Hampshire* (New York, 1923), p. 9. Used by permission of Henry Holt and Co.

It is noteworthy that three of Frost's volumes have won the Pulitzer Prize: *New Hampshire*, 1923; *Collected Poems*, 1930; and *The Further Range*, 1936.

Another Pulitzer prize winner whose poetry is distinctly rural is Robert P. Tristram Coffin whose volume *Strange Holiness* received the award for 1935. Coffin was born in Brunswick, Maine, and is now Pierce Professor of English in Bowdoin College. A large number of his titles are illustrative of the dominant spirit of his poetry. The following are from *Strange Holiness*: "Country Church," "Potato Diggers," "Advice to a Young Farmer," "Hens in Winter," "Winter Milking," "In the Barn in Winter," "The Barn in Summer," "The Bull Inside," "The Haying," and "The Farm in the Woods." Among Coffin's other titles are these: "Cows Are Coming Home in Maine," "Haytime," "Ox-pull at the Fair," "Skunk," "Counting of Sheep," and "This Is My Country." His flow of poetry dealing with farm scenes and memories seems inexhaustible. In fact its copiousness makes one rather suspicious of its ultimate value. But the poems speak for themselves. The author accomplishes what he sets out to do. Here there is no especially subtle psychology, no attempt to fathom human motives or to trace the social history of rural communities. The following from "Winter Milking" is typical of Coffin. The speaker at five o'clock in the evening trudges barnward through the snow. Already it is dark and he carries a lantern. He enters the stable, stamps the snow from his boots, sets the lantern by the sill. There is a silence. He hears a mouse squeak.

Vast sweet breaths are taken in
Behind the door. I dole out grain,
And now the breaths rush out again.
Stanchions rattle, bodies stir;
I open the door on miniver,
Velvet, sunshine in sleek hair,
And honey and clover in the air,
Round eyes burn on me, tongues caress,
Blue nostrils wide with eagerness.
I put the feed-boxes into place,
Hunger furnishes the grace.⁵

Nobody who is familiar with such a scene can help being impressed with the fact that in a poem like this we have a segment of farm life set right before us.

⁵ Robert P. Tristram Coffin, *Strange Holiness* (New York, 1935), p. 35. Used by permission of The Macmillan Co.

But the "farm vote" in the United States does not come from New England. The course of the rural empire swings westward. It is, therefore, entirely appropriate that there should be a reflection in our modern poetry of the soil of the Middle West. This part of the United States has within the past 25 years made contributions of the highest significance to American poetry. In attempting to point out the most important aspects of the verse with a rural background, the poetry of Carl Sandburg deserves a decided emphasis. Sandburg is most distinctly a product of the prairie. Born of Scandinavian parentage and securing an education through his own efforts, his contacts with American life have been numerous and varied. During six years he was porter in a barber shop, scene-shifter in a poorly equipped theater, truck-handler in a brickyard, turner-apprentice in a pottery, dish-washer in Denver and Omaha hotels and a harvest hand in Kansas wheat fields. No poet since Whitman has mirrored wider vistas of American life than Sandburg. His first book, *Chicago Poems*, is a collection primarily dealing with city life. But the poet of Chicago is also the poet of the prairie. In *Cornhuskers*, Sandburg's second volume, we have in "The Prairie" our most significant poem of the rural Middle West.

As we read this poem the life of the prairie sweeps panoramically before us. We see the red sunset dripping over corn fields, the big strong horses trampling through the snow up to their knees, and a headlight searching a snowstorm, a funnel of white light shooting from over the pilot of the Pioneer Limited crossing Wisconsin. We hear threshing crews yelling in the chaff of a straw pile and the gray geese honking for a new home.

I am the prairie, mother of men, waiting.
They are mine, the threshing crews eating beefsteak, the
farmboys driving steers to the railroad cattle pens.
They are mine, the horses looking over a fence in the frost
of late October saying good-morning to the horses
hauling wagons of rutabaga to market.⁶

There are other pictures just as clear. For example, there is that of a farmer hauling a wagon load of radishes to market. He sits on the high seat dangling the reins on the rumps of a pair of dapple-gray horses. The following is not especially lyrical and has little in common with dainty lines about larks, nightingales, or honeysuckle. It has, nevertheless, sufficient of a barnyard atmosphere to justify its inclusion here:

⁶ Carl Sandburg, *Cornhuskers* (New York, 1918) p. 8. Used by permission of Henry Holt and Co.

Keep your hogs on changing corn and mashes of grain,
O farmerman.
Cram their insides till they waddle on short legs
Under the drums of bellies, hams of fat.
Kill your hogs with a knife slit under the ear.
Hack them with cleavers.
Hang them with hooks in the hind legs.⁷

At least one other interpreter of the life of the Middle West should be mentioned here. Paul Engle is a younger poet whose poetry has considerable significance to students of social backgrounds. He is a native of Iowa and received his academic training at Yale and Oxford. His poetry has a rather wide geographical range. He is not pre-eminently a poet of the open country, some of his poetry being in general decidedly metropolitan and cosmopolitan. This is evidenced by titles like "Folk of the World," "Chicago," "Vienna," "New York," and "England." Along with these is a poem which clearly indicates that he has not been cosmopolitanized to the point of becoming completely detached from his earliest environment. Its caption is "Great Valley." It is a rich interpretation of rural America. He refers to the "great valley" as the "granary of the world, the nation's pigsty" and points to the farmer boasting of the oatmeal which he sends all over the world, of his calves, winners of blue ribbons at county fairs, and his hogs fattened until they are not able to walk. He depicts him as rejoicing equally in his tractor and the rich black soil which it tills. Here again we have something of a panorama. We see cattle so well bred that their "milk flows nearly pure butter fat," corn so tall that men become lost in the fields, and the round hard bodies of silos towering above the barns. Then, too, there are the evidences of a machine age in the form of sulky plows, disks, and corn-pickers.

Engle shows some tendency to editorialize. In one stanza he depicts the tragedy of the hardships of the travelers in their trains of covered wagons crossing the prairies and the deserts. In another he flays those in the halls of state whom he believes to have betrayed the earth by wrong or inadequate legislation. In still another he laments the varnished heroism of those who conquered nature and the savage. The closing stanza is an excoriation of the recent governmental policy of plowing crops under and destroying food. Although some of these lines

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

are more opinionated than poetical, Engle's factual picturing of rural life itself is highly convincing.

This by no means completes the list of American poets of rural life. Among the books which should be mentioned in this connection is Amy Lowell's *East Wind*, a volume of poems dealing for the most part with some of the tragedies of men and women living in isolated country regions and battling against loneliness, morbidity, and neuroticism. Edgar Lee Masters' *Spoon River Anthology* also has to do primarily with the abnormal and the tragic. Although it is the quintessence of village scandal, it occasionally depicts the same sordid aspects of life as they are found among those who live on farms. Among other poems which should command especial attention are those of Elizabeth Coatsworth, who shows her greatest skill in animal poems, like "The Old Mare" and "The Circus-Postered Barn." In a few of the passages in Stephen Vincent Benét's *John Brown's Body* we have lines describing with such impressive beauty the Pennsylvania lands of broad-backed, sleek horses, big red barns bursting with plenty, picturesque old stone houses, and well-tilled, rolling acres that we wish he could give us more of it. Mark Van Doren's "Former Barn Lot" is an isolated poem of three unforgettable stanzas with a definitely rural setting. Two other meritorious poems of deserted farms are Malcolm Cowley's "The Farm Died" and "Blue Juniata." It is undoubtedly true that a respectable anthology could be compiled of poems based on the ever-changing drama of American rural life.

Poetry is not sociology, but the poet and the sociologist of necessity use much of the same material. Both go to life for data. As American poetry has become more genuinely American it has ceased to neglect important segments of our national life. As a result the rural scene has loomed larger in the writings of our poets. And in spite of the trend toward urbanization, it will in all probability continue to do so for at least the next generation. On the pages of the poet there is surpassingly much that is of high interest to the student of rural life.

The Influence of Intra-State Regional Characteristics upon Population Growth¹

Leland B. Tate*

ABSTRACT

Population growth, when measured by census changes or natural gain, tends to show wide variations from region to region. This is particularly true in Virginia, where the more or less natural and traditional areas are so different in historical background and provincial characteristics. Since 1870 Virginia's regional population growth has ranged from one-tenth of one per cent in the Middle Peninsula of Tidewater to over 200 per cent in the two extreme western regions and the two extreme southeastern regions. Several modifying factors show a relationship with these changes. The smallest growth is associated with an old region which was once the home of aristocratic planters, but today is relatively poor. The large gains are associated first, with two newer regions which have fairly abundant resources, and a preponderance of white inhabitants; and secondly, with two old regions now highly urbanized and dotted with resorts and army, navy, and aviation concentration points.

In recent years many concepts of the term "region" have been advanced, and much emphasis has been placed on regional study and analysis. Writing of the South a few months ago in the *New York Times*, Stark Young said:

If you examine the Tidewater in Virginia, you will find how much . . . it differs from the Virginia further west. Regions in North Carolina and Tennessee are anything but like the Deep South. And even in a single State—Mississippi, for example—you can go a mere mile or so very often and run into another sort of people and a different living.²

I am not entirely familiar with the distinctive regions of the various Southern States, but it appears to me that we have in Virginia one of the finest examples of intra-state regions to be found in any commonwealth of similar size. By intra-state regions as here considered, I mean the more or less natural and traditional areas of the state, many of which have distinct cultural characteristics, and several of which main-

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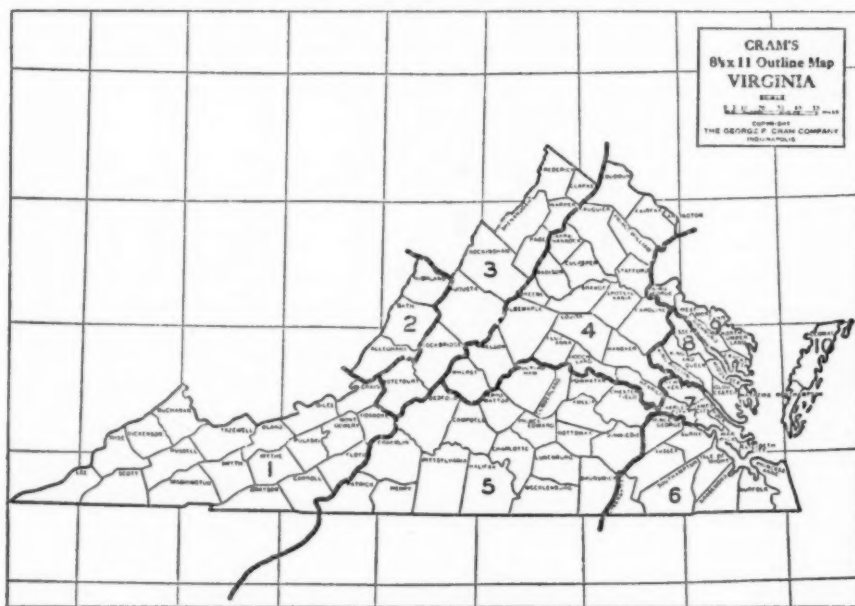
¹ A paper given before the Southern Sociological Society, Birmingham, Alabama, April 3, 1937.

² Stark Young, "The South Presents a Design for Living," *The New York Times Magazine*, January 17, 1937, p. 4.

tain their own regional chambers of commerce to proclaim their peculiar advantages, as contrasted with other areas.

The Blue Ridge Mountain range divides Virginia into two large areas which have many dissimilar characteristics, and which have had, since 1870, a very noticeable difference in population growth. Western Virginia's population has increased over the sixty-year period by 145 per cent, as compared with an increase of 82 per cent east of the Blue Ridge, and in spite of the fact that all of the state's large cities except Roanoke are in the east. If we examine carefully each of these two larger regions, they may be subdivided into several smaller regions, as indicated in Figure 1. Thus, Eastern Virginia is divided first into the Tidewater and the Piedmont regions. The northern Piedmont in turn becomes Middle Virginia, and the Piedmont area south of the James River is known far and wide as Southside Virginia. The Tidewater region has five smaller regions known as Southeastern Virginia, the James-York River Peninsula, the Middle Peninsula, the Northern Neck, and the Eastern Shore. Retracing our steps from the west, it is found that the large region west of the Blue Ridge range is subdivided into three smaller regions known

FIGURE 1
A REGIONAL MAP OF VIRGINIA



(1) Southwestern Virginia, (2) Allegheny Ridges, (3) Shenandoah Valley, (4) Middle Virginia, (5) Southside Virginia, (6) Southeastern Virginia, (7) James-York Peninsula, (8) Middle Peninsula, (9) Northern Neck, (10) Eastern Shore.

as the Shenandoah Valley, the Allegheny Ridges, and Southwestern Virginia.

Along with loyalty to county in the Old Dominion, there is a very definite loyalty to region, and with the exception of a few interstitial areas, where the peripheries of regions tend to merge gradually one into the other, there is a fairly definite knowledge of the boundaries of each region here considered.

Southwestern Virginia, for example, is not a mere segment of the state to its inhabitants, but "The Great Southwest" to many, and "The Mountain Empire" to its regional chamber of commerce. Located in the extreme western part of Virginia, much of its territory is nearer to Columbia, South Carolina, than to its own state capital at Richmond. Bounded on the south by the Blue Ridge range, North Carolina, and Tennessee, and on the north by the Cumberland Mountains, Kentucky, and West Virginia, and extending approximately 270 miles from Roanoke on the east to Cumberland Gap on the west, it embraces 19 counties and a land area of 8,153 square miles. In size Southwestern Virginia is 114 square miles larger than Massachusetts, and over seven and one-half times as large as Rhode Island. It is one-fifth of the area of Virginia.

This region in the days of Washington was a gateway to the West, and at the same time was itself distinctly western. Beginning about 1750, there was a stream of thousands of settlers through and into the area during the following half century. In the movement were many diverse elements: Scotch-Irish shortly removed from Ulster via Pennsylvania and the Shenandoah Valley; a goodly number of Germans of varying religious beliefs; a sprinkling of French who had fought with Count de Rochambeau in the American Revolution for Independence, and then decided to make America their home; some English from Eastern Virginia; and a mixture of French Huguenots, English, and others from the Carolinas. When to these are added the small proportion of slaves and free Negroes, it is clear that the homogeneity of the people would not compare with the English settlements in the Tidewater and the Piedmont. I think perhaps the influence of those early heterogeneous and independent freeholders is still reflected in the brand of politics found here. It is at least a distinctive brand for a Southern region. Sometimes Democratic, sometimes Republican, its citizens have fought for their convictions to such an extent, while maneuvering for positions in political campaigns, that their major congressional district

is known as "The Fighting Ninth," a sobriquet which is well earned and not accidental.

Southwestern Virginia has had many factors to encourage population growth, and consequently shows a larger increase in its rural population since 1870 than any other region of the state. The first stimulant, however, came a century before 1870 with the opportunity to acquire lands almost for the asking by means of so-called improvements, under such headings as *cabin rights* and *corn rights*. With land cheap, but heavily forested, and labor dear and still more lands a little further west for surplus adult sons, children were a decided economic asset and large families the order of the day. The second stimulant for denser settlement came with the discovery of the value of blue grass and its wonderful grazing possibilities. The late Henry Carter Stuart, the largest cattleman of the East, a former governor of Virginia, and a nephew of General J. E. B. Stuart, told me a few years ago that:

The pioneers who found their way into this region soon carved from the wilderness numerous clearings, and shortly afterwards found themselves face to face with what they thought to be a pest—a form of vegetation which would probably compel them to return to the low country. Therefore, with their primitive tools they began a war of extermination on this so-called pest. They dug it and piled it on stumps and stones and tried to burn it, so as to destroy the seed, but it soon took possession of their cleared land which was left uncultivated from year to year. It was then discovered that the herds of cattle grew fat on this unwelcome weed, and this brought the pioneer to the realization that this form of vegetation—Blue Grass, as it has since been known—afforded fine grazing for the cattle. Consequently, additional timber was deadened, the sun was admitted, and this hardy volunteer grass covered the limestone valleys and mountain ranges. *This attracted new settlers*, who hailed the blue grass as a blessing, in that it was spontaneous and easily convertible into profit without necessitating the drudgery found in the production of grain as a major product.³

Ordinarily a grazing economy is a pioneer economy, which is gradually superseded by some more intensive type of agriculture as population increases, but it is still the predominant type of farming in Southwestern Virginia. Half of the region's farm land is in pasture, and in some counties the proportion is much larger. Since a crop economy is capable of supporting a denser population than a grazing economy, it may be assumed that this region would not have had the large increase in population previously indicated, had it not been for the development of

³ From Leland Burdine Tate, *An Economic and Social Survey of Russell County, Virginia*, University of Virginia Record Extension Series, Vol. XVI, No. 1, July, 1931, p. 39.

other natural resources, and the consequent creation of added employment opportunities.

With the construction of the first railroad in the fifties of the last century there was an outlet for the choice timber within a reasonable distance of the scattered shipping points, and the citizens of a generation ago remember well the many walnut logs that were hauled to the stations by means of four-horse teams, and thence shipped by rail to distant markets. As railways were constructed into various parts of the region, the timber industry expanded, and in the eighties and nineties and the first decade of the present century there was a rapid development of coal mining in the two northwestern tiers of counties. The selection of the small town of "Big Lick" on the east as headquarters for the area's major railway company transformed this small center into the present city of Roanoke and was no doubt the main factor in increasing its population from 669 persons in 1880 to over 69,000 in 1930. However, Roanoke is the only large city of the region. The topography of the territory, the need for frequent shipping points, and the industrial development that has grown up mainly around extractive industries have been conducive to the establishment of many small centers rather than large ones. The region's population is classified as 75 per cent rural, and over half of the urban population is in the city of Roanoke.

The "Gap Town" boom described by John Fox, Jr., in *The Trail of the Lonesome Pine* (p. 232) was repeated in miniature in dozens of nearby localities, and gave rise to numerous small coal mining towns and adjacent trade centers. Not only did this give supplementary employment to many already within the region and encourage more population, but it attracted many new elements from outside.

The Wise County portion of "the John Fox country" had less than 4,800 inhabitants in 1870 and over 51,000 in 1930. This was an increase of 969 per cent, in spite of the loss of some territory when an adjoining county was formed in 1880. During the World War and immediate postwar period this county alone produced from two to six million tons of coal per year, and it felt the pangs of progress to such an extent that it floated bonds for several million dollars with which to improve its schools and roads. Other counties followed suit on a smaller scale, until all were forced to recede somewhat by economic depression.

The population of the region continued to increase from 1920 to 1930 in spite of the postwar depression in the coal, timber, and livestock industries. This would seem to indicate that the momentum of

population growth gained during a period of rapid industrial expansion fails to recede in proportion to sudden industrial contraction, and brings about a differential lag in population decline during times of depression.

To summarize briefly the factors associated with the rapid population growth of Southwestern Virginia, at least the following points should be noted. Newer regions in general tend to outgrow older ones, and this case is no exception to the rule. Certain natural resources found here in abundance are not found in the same proportion, or at all, in other regions of the state. The white population of this region comprises 93 per cent or a larger percentage of the total than in any other region, and it is now well established that the whites tend to outgrow the blacks. Investigation shows that the birth rate is very high among coal miners, and many families of this type reside here in the small coal mining towns. Large urban centers tend to drain the surrounding hinterlands of much of their population, and this region is more remote from large centers than is Eastern Virginia.

The greatest contrast to the situation in Southwestern Virginia is found in the Middle Peninsula of Tidewater, where the population was only one-tenth of one per cent greater in 1930 than 60 years before. The Middle Peninsula, which is slightly more than one-sixth the size of Southwestern Virginia, is located between the York and Rappahannock rivers, extends inland from the Chesapeake Bay about 70 miles, and contains six counties. Two of these, without territorial losses, have a smaller population today than at the time of the first national Census 148 years ago.⁴

The social and economic factors associated with the Middle Peninsula region indicate that it was early doomed to a slow population growth. It was settled by large planters who concentrated the ownership of the land in the hands of very few families, operated their plantations mainly by Negro slaves, depleted the soil by the constant growing of tobacco, and traded directly with the mother country from their private wharves. These factors were not conducive to town building and the concentration of population, and provided few opportunities for tradesmen, craftsmen, and small farmers. Prior to 1700 several attempts were made to legislate towns into existence in this and adjacent regions of Tide-

⁴ For detailed accounts of these and similar Virginia counties see Wilson Gee and John J. Corson, 3rd, *Rural Depopulation in Certain Tidewater and Piedmont Areas of Virginia*, University of Virginia Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, Institute Monograph No. 3, 1929, pp. 1-17.

water, but as Bruce,⁵ the Virginia historian, has clearly shown, no amount of wishful thinking, legislative hope, and conformity to the wishes of an English sovereign would triumph over practical experience and give rise to towns where economic and social conditions were not favorable for their existence.

A picture of the Middle Peninsula today shows that it is 100 per cent rural and 44 per cent Negro in population; that it contains only four incorporated small towns; that it has no railroads and no outstanding natural resources; that its soil, with rare exceptions, permits only meager economic returns; that many acres once devoted to tobacco culture have been abandoned and allowed to become again forest lands; and that migration to outside points, such as nearby and Northern cities, and the truck farms of the Eastern Shore, has allowed the area barely to keep pace in population growth. The region had only 54 more persons in 1930 than 60 years before, and over 5,000 fewer Negroes.

Negro population growth, incidentally, is definitely associated with the regions that are characterized by industrial development, resort and recreational centers, urbanization, trade and service occupations, or the more intensive types of agriculture. Slavery and tobacco were synonymous in Virginia in early days, and in the main they both stopped with the crest of the Blue Ridge. Farms west of the Blue Ridge were sometimes referred to as plantations, but few of them were like the slave plantations to the east. The contrast in the population element has been illustrated well by Professor Barringer of the University of Virginia in a short historical account of Albemarle County. He says:

A comparison of the slave population of Albemarle and Rockingham, adjoining counties, with the Blue Ridge dividing, will show how sharply slavery stopped with tobacco. In 1840 Albemarle had nearly 14,000 slaves and 20 free negroes, while Rockingham with seven-eighths as many inhabitants, had only 1,900 slaves and 500 free negroes.⁶

Since the dissolution of the slave plantation, the growth of cities, and the gradual southward shifting of the area of tobacco culture, practically all counties in Middle Virginia, including Albemarle, have lost much of their Negro population. Reference to Figure 2, which gives the Negro population changes since 1870 by counties, shows that in the main all Virginia counties are whiter, so to speak, than 60 years ago,

⁵ Philip Alexander Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*, 1907, II, 522-65.

⁶ P. B. Barringer, "Albemarle County," in *Albemarle County: Economic and Social*, University of Virginia Record Extension Series, Vol. VII, No. 2, pp. 15-16.

except those characterized by coal mining and miscellaneous industry, recreational facilities and resorts, or trade and service occupations, and the more intensive types of agriculture, such as tobacco in Southside Virginia, peanuts, cotton, and vegetables in Southeastern Virginia, and potatoes and various truck crops on the Eastern Shore. However, only two regions here considered—the Eastern Shore and Southwestern Virginia—had increases in their Negro population during the last decade (1920-30). The other regions showed losses ranging from 4 to 19 per cent. Three regions have had losses in Negro population every decade since 1880, with the greatest average loss per decade occurring in the Shenandoah Valley. (The per cent of regional decline since 1870 is shown in Table I.)

TABLE I
REGIONAL POPULATION GROWTH IN VIRGINIA, 1870-1930, COMPARED WITH
THE GROWTH FOR THE STATE AND FOR THE UNITED STATES

Region	Per cent of Change in Population						
	Total	White	Negro	Urban		Rural†	
				White	Negro	White	Negro
Middle Peninsula.....	0.1	23	-19	0	0	24	-19
Northern Neck.....	26	49	4	0	0	49	4
Shenandoah Valley.....	53	71	-29	342	50	48	-44
Southside Virginia.....	55	117	4	410	102	84	-5
Middle Virginia.....	68	124	1	312	103	70	-25
Eastern Shore.....	91	94	88	*	*	82	83
James-York Peninsula.....	204	390	88	*	*	24	-19
Southeastern Virginia.....	211	266	159	687	473	74	-5
Southwestern Virginia.....	213	235	64	*	*	157	-25
Allegheny Ridges.....	241	258	147	*	*	146	21
Virginia.....	98	149	27	602	233	90	-3
United States.....	218	217	120

†Rural includes all population outside of incorporated centers with 2,500 persons or more.

NOTE: Regions with urban population in 1930 but without urban population in 1870 are marked with an asterisk (*). The Eastern Shore had in 1930, 1,845 urban whites and 679 urban Negroes; the James-York River Peninsula, 29,703 urban whites and 17,808 urban Negroes; Southwestern Virginia, 111,109 urban whites and 19,093 urban Negroes; and the Allegheny Ridges, 11,085 urban whites and 2,289 urban Negroes.

Probably the major factors contributing to Negro migration from the Shenandoah Valley are, first, its preponderance of family farms of a general nature, which are operated by thrifty land-loving farmers of Scotch-Irish and German descent, who have little need for colored laborers and tenants; and second, its proximity to the states of West Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, where undoubtedly there are better economic opportunities for colored persons than in the Shenandoah Valley

region. Other contrasts to regions in which Negroes have increased are easily discerned. There are no large cities, commercial ports, and resort centers in the Shenandoah Valley as in the Hampton Roads area of Southeastern Virginia and the James-York River Peninsula; no regional industrial activity as coal mining in Southwestern Virginia; no combination of a Hot Springs resort and a rapid industrial development as in the Allegheny Ridges, and no intensive type of agriculture that is definitely regional, such as truck farming on the Eastern Shore.

I believe that our discussion has been carried almost far enough to show that Virginia as a state has several regions with distinctive features and characteristics, and that these have had and are having a definite influence upon population growth. It will be noted that the most rapid regional growth is associated with two relatively new regions which have an abundance of resources and a preponderance of white inhabitants; that the slowest regional growth is associated with a relatively old region which was none too rich in the beginning and which by reason of its economic and social life of the past is still less rich today. In between these two extremes there are many modifying regional factors. Some of these are difficult of statistical measurement, but two simple relationship tables, based on a limited number of selected factors, reveal that there is a very definite association between regional population growth and the factors here considered, except in a few individual cases.

Table II gives the percentage of total population growth from 1870 to 1930 for each of the ten regions shown in Figure 1, and relates this regional growth to urbanization, the proportion of whites, the proportion of Negroes, and natural population gain. By averaging the data for the four regions with the largest growth, the four regions with the next largest growth, and the two regions with the smallest growth, it was found that the average growth of the three combinations was, respectively, 217 per cent, 67 per cent, and 13 per cent. These figures show a positive relationship with the proportion of population urban, the proportion of population white, and natural population gain determined by the excess of birth rates over death rates, but an inverse relationship with the proportion of population Negro.

Natural population gain shows a positive relationship with the percentage of population growth in the three combinations of regions just indicated. However, Southeastern Virginia and the James-York River Peninsula, two of the fastest growing regions for the period considered, show the smallest regional growth by natural gain. This indicates that

these two regions bordering the port of Hampton Roads have gained more by migration than any other sections of the state. The reasons for this are clear in view of the World War mushroom development of the

TABLE II
REGIONAL POPULATION GROWTH IN VIRGINIA, 1870-1930, RELATED TO
URBANIZATION, WHITE POPULATION, NEGRO POPULATION,
AND NATURAL POPULATION GAIN

<i>Regions</i>	<i>Percentage population growth, 1870 to 1930</i>	<i>Per cent of population urban, 1930</i>	<i>Numerical increase in the percent of population urban, 1870 to 1930</i>	<i>Per cent of population white, 1930</i>	<i>Per cent of population Negro, 1930</i>	<i>Yearly average excess of birth rates over death rates, 1920 to 1930</i>
1. The Allegheny Ridges.....	241.5	34	34	89	11	12.86
2. Southwestern Virginia.....	212.8	25	25	93	7	20.73
3. Southeastern Virginia.....	210.9	58	32	57	43	10.72
4. James-York River Peninsula	204.4	51	51	61	38	8.49
Average.....	217.4	42.0	35.5	75.0	27.25	13.20
5. Eastern Shore.....	91.2	5	5	56	44	12.21
6. Middle Virginia.....	68.3	41	19	73	27	11.36
7. Southside Virginia.....	55.4	22	12	63	37	14.47
8. Shenandoah Valley.....	53.2	22	13	92	8	10.97
Average.....	67.02	22.5	12.25	71.0	29.0	12.30
9. Northern Neck.....	26.4	0	0	58	42	11.65
10. Middle Peninsula.....	0.1	0	0	55	44	9.01
Average.....	13.25	0	0	56.5	43	10.33

Hampton Roads area, and the army, navy, and aviation centers which have been developed in this vicinity.

Table III gives the percentage of rural population growth from 1870 to 1930 for each of the 10 regions shown in Figure 1, and relates this regional rural growth to urbanization, rural whites, rural Negroes, and self-sufficing agriculture. By combining the regions as in Table I, it was found that the average rural population growth of the three combinations was, respectively, 104 per cent, 36 per cent, and 13 per cent. These figures show a positive relationship with the proportion of total population urban and the proportion of rural population white, but an inverse relationship with the proportion of rural population Negro and the percentage of farms self-sufficing.

In the main, therefore, the most rapid population growth, total or rural, has occurred in the regions which are the most urbanized and

the whitest, from the standpoint of population color; and the slowest growth has occurred in the regions which have the largest proportion of Negroes and self-sufficing farms.

TABLE III

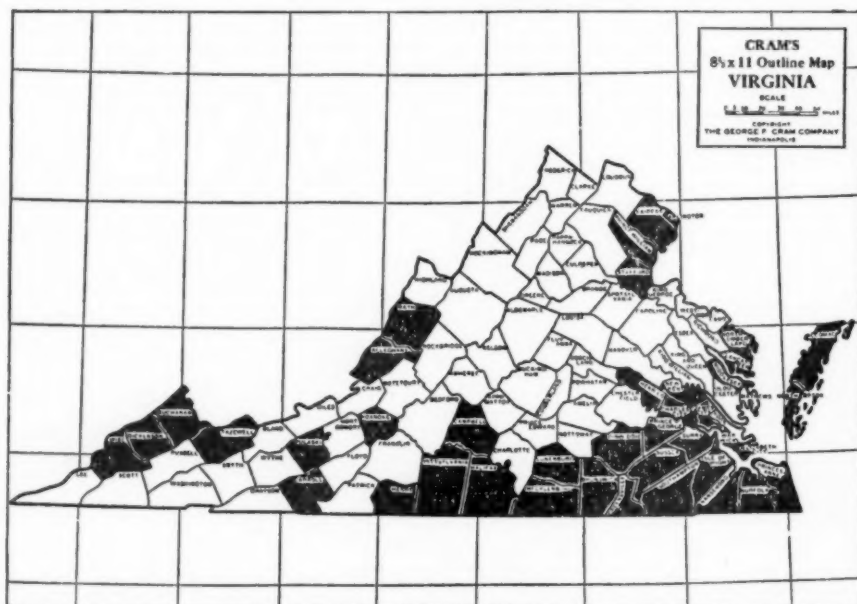
REGIONAL RURAL POPULATION GROWTH IN VIRGINIA, 1870-1930, RELATED TO URBANIZATION, RURAL WHITE POPULATION, RURAL NEGRO POPULATION, AND SELF-SUFFICING AGRICULTURE

<i>Regions</i>	<i>Percentage rural population growth, 1870 to 1930</i>	<i>Per cent of total population urban, 1930</i>	<i>Numerical increase in percent of total population urban, 1870 to 1930</i>	<i>Per cent of rural population white, 1930</i>	<i>Per cent of rural population Negro, 1930</i>	<i>Per cent of farms self-sufficing, 1930</i>
1. Southwestern Virginia.....	133.4	25	25	96	4	38
2. The Allegheny Ridges.....	126.4	34	34	92	8	25
3. Eastern Shore.....	82.4	5	5	55	45	0.6
4. Southeastern Virginia.....	75.3	58	32	45	55	5
Average.....	104.4	30.5	24.0	72.0	28.0	17.1
5. James-York River Peninsula	50.3	51	51	60	40	19
6. Southside Virginia.....	34.9	22	12	62	38	22
7. Shenandoah Valley.....	32.3	22	13	93	7	16
8. Northern Neck.....	26.4	0	0	58	42	31
Average.....	35.97	23.75	19.0	68.25	31.75	22.0
9. Middle Virginia.....	26.3	41	19	73	27	32
10. Middle Peninsula.....	0.1	0	0	55	45	44
Average.....	13.2	20.5	9.5	64	36.0	38.0

Of course, there are individual cases where these relationships do not hold true, by reason of more influential factors. For example, the Eastern Shore is 95 per cent rural and 44 per cent Negro, but shows the third largest regional increase in rural population since 1870 (82.4 per cent), and is the only region here considered to have an increase in its rural Negro population during the last decade. The explanation lies in the fact that the Eastern Shore is an area of very intensive agriculture, with allied industries such as canneries and cooperage plants, and a supplementary seafood industry, the combined activities of which provide employment opportunities for a large number of Negroes. Back of the intensive agriculture of this region is the Eastern Shore of Virginia Produce Exchange, which has been largely responsible for providing profitable markets for the local produce, and therefore, influential in giving rise to the employment opportunities characteristic of the region. It is said that prior to the formation of this organization in 1900, mar-

keting conditions were chaotic, and that "postage stamps were sometimes used in paying for produce shipped, so small was the return."⁷ Thus, the organization was born of despair, and has proven a wonderful success until quite recently. In view of the fact that it has provided widely expanded market outlets and sold as much as twenty million dollars worth of produce per year, it is easy to see that such factors as these can influence regional employment opportunities tremendously, and in turn influence regional population growth.

FIGURE 2
GAINS AND LOSSES IN NEGRO POPULATION, 1870-1930
ONLY THE BLACK COUNTIES HAVE HAD GAINS
(Thirteen of these contain cities)



⁷ Benjamin T. Gunter, "The Eastern Shore of Virginia Produce Exchange," in *The Country Life of the Nation* (edited by Wilson Gee), The University of North Carolina Press, 1930, p. 96.

The Movement to Southern Farms 1930-35¹

*Conrad Taeuber**

ABSTRACT

Despite high reproduction rates the farm population in the Southern States in 1935 was only slightly greater than in 1910, and between 1920 and 1930 there were decreases in nine of the 13 states. Continued migration from farms to cities and towns in all parts of the country occurred both before and after 1930. These states contributed nearly 60 per cent of the net migration from farms to towns and cities between 1920 and 1930, but received only one-third of the persons who moved from nonfarm territory to farms after 1930 and were still there by 1935. The landward movement was largely to the fringes of urban or industrialized areas. Negroes were a much smaller proportion of the landward migrants of the thirties than of the migrants to urban areas during the twenties.

In this age of increasing specialization, we find that the production of the future population is increasingly being left to certain groups and regions. Twenty-seven per cent of the families now contribute 62 per cent of the children, while another 60 per cent of the families contribute only 24 per cent of the children.

For many years people have been one of the major products of the South.² In the Southern States thousands of children are born and reared and then turned over to other sections ready to work. In 1930, 35,000,000 persons reported that they had been born in the South, but more than 4,000,000 of them had left the South and were living in other sections of the country. The South contains slightly more than one-fourth of the nation's population (28 per cent). But in 1935 this one-fourth of the nation's population contributed one-third (33 per cent) of all births in the United States. Moreover, it produced nearly one-half (46 per cent) of the total natural increase.

Chief among the groups which contribute to the relatively high rate

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¹ A paper given before the Southern Sociological Society, Birmingham, Alabama, April 3, 1937.

² Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas.

of population growth in the South is the large part of the population which lives on farms. In 1930 approximately half the people in the 13 Southern States lived on farms. In some states the proportion was much greater; three-fifths of all persons in Arkansas and two-thirds of those in Mississippi were thus classified. Only Florida reported less than two-fifths of its population on farms.

In the South, as elsewhere in the country, the people on farms are more prolific than people in villages or cities. Whereas the native white population of the country in 1930 was growing at the rate of 12 per cent per generation, the native whites in rural farm areas were increasing approximately six times as fast, or 69 per cent per generation. In the three Southern Geographical Divisions^a the rate of growth was between 81 and 93 per cent per generation (Table I). It is not difficult today to find counties in the South which would double their farm population in one generation if there were no migration. Rural-farm Negroes were increasing at the rate of 80 per cent in each generation—100 per cent in the South Atlantic States, which include Virginia, the Carolinias, and Georgia, and only 66 per cent in the West South Central States, which include Texas and Oklahoma.

Despite such rapid rates of natural increase, the farm population in the Southern States has not grown rapidly in numbers. In fact, in 1935 the number of persons on farms in these states was only two per cent greater than it had been in 1910, and between 1920 and 1930 there were decreases in nine of the 13 states. Only continued migration from farms on a large scale could account for this development. During the twenties the farms of the South contributed more than 3,400,000 persons to towns and cities in all parts of the country. This number is equal to one-fifth of the number of persons living on Southern farms in 1920. Between 1930 and 1935 the net migration from farms to towns and cities occurred at a rate approximately one-third as great as that which prevailed during the twenties. The number of persons who left farms exceeded by 572,000 the number who moved to farms. This was only about 26,000 less than the net migration from farms (598,000 persons) for the entire country. However, four of the Southern States—Virginia, Florida, Kentucky, and Tennessee—reported a *net migration to farms* of 52,000 persons. If we take into account the net migration from farms in the Southern States to farms in other states, the net loss by migration

^a Including the 13 Southern States and Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, and West Virginia.

in the Southern States was approximately 700,000 persons, despite net migrations to four of the states. Nevertheless, the excess of births over

TABLE I
NET REPRODUCTIVE RATE AMONG RURAL FARM POPULATION, 1930*

Geographic Division	Native	
	White	Negro
United States, total.....	169	180
South Atlantic.....	189	200
East South Central.....	193	172
West South Central.....	181	166
Mountain†.....	177
Pacific†.....	122

*Based on net replacement quotas as computed by Lorimer, and Osborne, *Dynamics of Population*, New York, 1934, pp. 28-30 and pp. 351-359; and on ratios of children 0-4 per 100 women aged 20-44, from Whelpton, P. K., "Geographic¹ and Economic Differentials in Fertility," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 188:37-55, November, 1936. A stationary population would have a rate of 100.

†Divisions reporting highest and lowest rates outside the South included for comparisons.

deaths more than offsets losses by migration in all of these states, except Georgia and Mississippi. For the entire group of 13 states, therefore, there was a net increase in the farm population, even though there were decreases in Mississippi and in Georgia.

Although the Southern States continued to send part of their farm population to nearby towns and cities and to other states during 1930-35, the numbers involved were considerably less than during the years of urban prosperity. However, migration from farms was so extensive that although births exceeded deaths by nearly 1,400,000, and 684,000 persons moved from towns and cities to farms and remained there, the net increase in the number of persons living on farms was only 612,000.⁴ This net increase was less than the number of persons who moved to farms, and less than half as great as the excess of births over deaths. Here, as in some other parts of the country, the farm population remained nearly stationary in total numbers, but was far from stationary when we consider the persons themselves.

⁴ The Census of Agriculture of 1935 reports the number of persons living on farms who were not on farms five years previously, excluding children under five. These persons might be called survivors of the persons who moved to farms. Other data concerning migration and concerning natural increase are taken from compilations for the annual estimates of farm population which are made by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. Figures based on the Census of 1930 are as of January 1.

This becomes especially apparent when we turn from the net figures which have just been given to some estimates of total migration. The "persons living on farms who were not on farms five years previously" are really only those persons who moved from towns and cities to farms during the five years, and were still on a farm at the end of the period. Persons who moved from nonfarm territory to a farm and then to some nonfarm area before 1935 would not be included. If we include them, the number of persons who moved to farms from villages, towns, and cities becomes approximately 2,500,000, or nearly four times the number of these persons who were still on farms at the beginning of 1935.⁵ Disregarding deaths, we might say that three-fourths of the total number of migrants to farms moved off their farms again before the end of the period. Including these persons who were returning to towns and cities, and those who had not previously been in a town or city but were moving to one, it appears that about 3,200,000 persons moved away from farms in the South during the five years. The net result of the migration movements here, as elsewhere, is then the result of the movements of relatively large numbers of persons. Some farm residents leave farms to go to towns or cities, urban residents move to farms, and in some cases they are merely exchanging places.

THE BACK-TO-THE-LAND MOVEMENT

One characteristic of the movement to farms during the depression years may be noted in passing. In the South, the total number of persons who moved from towns and cities to farms between 1925 and 1929 was greater by about 400,000 persons than the number between 1930 and 1935. Obviously, this is related to the fact that more persons were leaving farms during the five-year period before 1930 than during the later period. It is possible that during the depression years the percentage who remained at their destination was greater than during the preceding period of urban prosperity. Whether or not this is so, it is clear that migration to farms and migration from farms are two phases of change in the farm population which are closely related to each other. Whether the movement to or from farms is greater at any particular

⁵ To say that 2,500,000 persons moved to farms is not strictly correct, for it is conceivable that some of the individuals who are involved moved to farms more than once, that is, a person who moved from a city to a farm and then to a village and back to a farm during the five years would be counted twice, etc. The figure really gives the total number of migrations to farms. A similar criticism applies to the figure on number of persons moving from farms. The amount of duplication, if known, would probably alter these figures only slightly.

time depends on many factors; it is sufficient to note here that they occur simultaneously.

TABLE II
FARM POPULATION IN THE SOUTHERN STATES, 1910-35

State	1910 Estimated Jan. 1*	1920 Census Jan. 1*	1930 Estimated Jan. 1†	1935 Census Jan. 1‡	Percent Change 1910-20	Percent Change 1920-30	Percent Change 1930-35
Virginia.....	1,065,059	1,064,417	945,300	1,053,469	- 0.1	-11.2	11.4
North Carolina.....	1,408,580	1,501,227	1,590,600	1,623,481	6.6	6.0	2.1
South Carolina.....	970,334	1,074,693	911,200	948,435	10.8	-15.2	4.1
Georgia.....	1,593,809	1,685,213	1,410,300	1,405,944	5.7	-16.3	- 0.3
Florida.....	273,397	281,893	277,400	319,658	3.1	- 1.6	15.2
Kentucky.....	1,285,920	1,304,862	1,166,600	1,307,816	1.5	-10.6	12.1
Tennessee.....	1,278,032	1,271,708	1,205,300	1,308,420	- 0.5	- 5.2	8.6
Alabama.....	1,382,754	1,335,885	1,329,000	1,386,074	- 3.4	- 0.5	4.3
Mississippi.....	1,344,307	1,270,482	1,351,400	1,332,981	- 5.5	6.4	- 1.4
Arkansas.....	1,106,815	1,147,049	1,108,800	1,180,238	3.6	- 3.3	6.4
Louisiana.....	732,016	786,050	822,600	859,351	7.4	4.6	4.5
Oklahoma.....	1,022,016	1,017,327	1,014,300	1,015,562	- 0.5	- 0.3	0.1
Texas.....	2,293,474	2,277,773	2,329,700	2,332,693	- 0.7	2.3	0.1
Total Southern States	15,756,513	16,018,579	15,462,500	16,074,122	1.7	- 3.5	4.0
U. S. Total.....	32,076,960	31,614,269	30,169,000	31,800,907	- 1.4	- 4.6	5.4

*Leon E. Truesdell, *Farm Population of the U. S.*, Bureau of the Census, 1926, Table 8, p. 45.

†*Farm Population Estimates*, U. S. Dept. of Agric., Bureau of Agric. Econ., Unpublished tables on file.

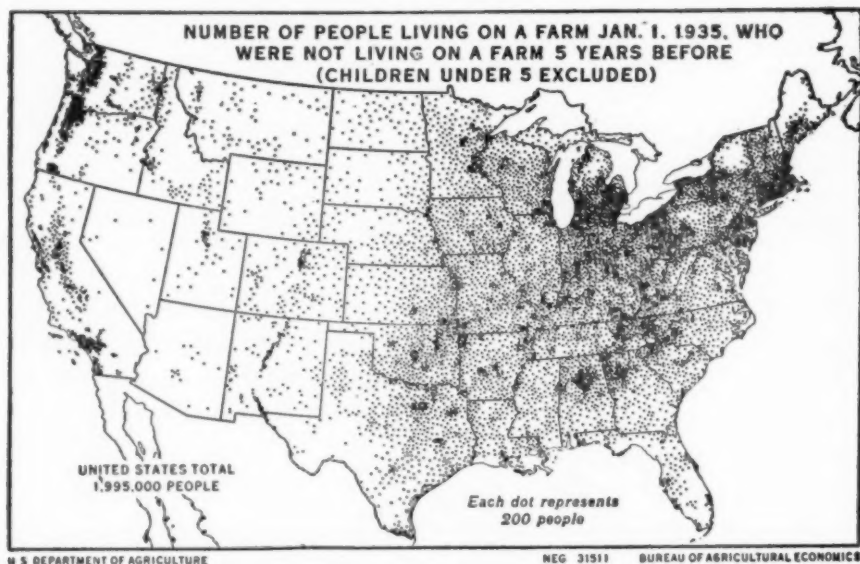
‡*U. S. Census of Agriculture*, "State Bulletins", Second Series, Table 2, 1935.

Although during the five-year period (1930-35) the trend of migration was away from farms, more than half a million persons moved from towns or cities to Southern farms and stayed there. It is not possible to determine to what extent this is a "back-to-the-farm" or simply a "to-the-farm" movement. It has popularly been known as a "back-to-the-land" movement and it is widely held that this movement involved essentially a return migration to the areas from which farm people had moved before 1930. For the Southern States this statement clearly does not apply. Between 1930 and 1935 these states included about one-half of the total farm population. But although they had contributed nearly 60 per cent of the net migration from farms to towns and cities between 1920-30, they received only one-third of the persons who moved from nonfarm territory to farms after 1930 and were still there by 1935. In these rural and agricultural states which reported a large migration from farms between 1920 and 1930 the landward movement was proportionately much less than in the more industrialized Northern and Eastern States.

This statement is further supported by the distribution of the landward migrants within the Southern States (Figure 1). The movement

was not to the predominantly agricultural areas, but largely to the fringes of urban territory or to industrialized areas. The map indicating the location of these migrants would show a decidedly uneven distribution, with several areas including the major share. The most important of these areas is in the Southern Appalachians, where stranded miners joined with former urban residents in settling on old farms or creating new ones. Another area of concentration is that of the part-time farming development which surrounds Birmingham. Smaller clusters are found around the larger cities, as Atlanta, Memphis, Fort Worth and Dallas, Oklahoma City, Louisville, and south of Cincinnati. Like most migrations, these movements from towns and cities to farms were for

FIGURE 1



short distances. The large cities of the North, which attracted many of the Southern farm residents during the twenties, apparently did not return more than a small fraction of them during the thirties. A large proportion of the farmward migrants in the South, as in other parts of the country, went to areas which were not predominantly agricultural. Going into areas largely unsuited to agriculture, and frequently to poor agricultural land, many of them cannot have found satisfactory adjustments in agriculture. A large number of the migrants have already left the farms. Any prediction concerning the prospects for stability of those who remain would be sheer guesswork.

On the average throughout the region 4.3 per cent of the persons liv-

ing on farms in 1935 were not living on farms five years previously. The ratio was highest in Florida and Oklahoma, where it rose to seven per cent, and lowest in Mississippi, where it dropped 2.2 per cent. It was between four and five per cent in Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Arkansas, and Texas, and between three and four per cent in Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Louisiana.

A direct comparison of the movement to farms by Negroes and white persons cannot be made from available data. However, the Census does report the color of the farm operators on whose farms the migrants were found. The farms of colored operators received only half as many of these migrants, proportionately, as the farms of white operators. On the latter, 4.8 per cent of all residents had not been on farms in 1930; on the former the proportion was 2.3 per cent, less than half as great. And, although one-fourth of the farm residents were on farms with colored operators, only one-eighth of the migrants who remained on farms were on farms with colored operators. In view of the Census practice of classifying croppers as well as owners as farm operators, it seems probable that the ratios for the total farm population would be closely similar to these. The farmward migration of colored farm laborers to farms of white operators was probably not sufficiently great to introduce any significant error. The number of persons who moved to farms of white operators and were still there in 1935 was 595,000; the number of those moving to farms of colored operators was only 89,000. Negroes clearly were underrepresented in this movement. In some parts of the South there was a considerable movement to farms in the first part of the five-year period, and a later movement away from farms, which may have removed a large fraction of migrants. Since the Census figures apply only to the beginning and end of the period, they may hide some of the changes that occurred during the period, but it is not probable that the relationships of white and Negro migrants were much different from those reported by the Census.

It appears from the scanty data available that the landward migrants in the South included entire family groups more frequently than in the remainder of the country, and that single young adults returning to the parental home were somewhat less frequent in the South.⁶ This in itself may indicate that many of the persons, migrants to farms who were

⁶ These statements are based on the assumption that persons on "farms reporting one such person" are chiefly children of the head of the households and that persons on "farms reporting three or more such persons" are primarily members of migrating families.

still there in 1935, are likely to remain on farms, for family groups ordinarily move somewhat less easily than single individuals.

CONCLUSION

The farms of the Southern States attracted and retained fewer former urban residents during the depression years than the farms in the more industrialized Northern and Eastern States. In fact, with few exceptions, the Southern farms continued to export population to towns and cities, though in smaller numbers than previously. The exchange of population between farms of this region and towns and cities here and in other parts of the country is not and has not been only a one-way process. Many moves are required for each person accounted for in net migration figures. Although for 25 years the net movement in this area has generally been from farms to towns and cities, there has consistently been a strong countermovement. This is only one phase of the well-known instability of the farm population—the frequent farm-to-farm movements would need to be taken into account also. How many of the landward migrants of the early thirties will remain on farms cannot be accurately foretold. If farm population in the South is to be maintained at the level it had reached by 1935, the net movement from farms during the next 15 years will be at least 3.7 million persons. But if migration on the scale considered necessary by Vance⁷ occurs, these figures are much too low. In any case, the nation has a vital stake in how the Southern farms perform that important function of rearing and educating thousands of young people and turning them over to other sections ready to work.

Discussion

*Harold Hoffsommer**

A fact of obvious significance brought out by Dr. Taeuber's paper is that there was not only a movement of population *to* Southern farms during the period 1930-35, but that there was at the same time a movement *away* from these farms. Despite the caption of the paper, "The Movement to Southern Farms," it is significant that its author begins, as well as ends, his discussion with comments on the movements away *from* rather than *to* these farms. Although this emphasis is

⁷ Rupert B. Vance, "The Old Cotton Belt" in *Migration and Economic Opportunity* by Carter Goodrich *et al.* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1936), pp. 124-163.

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easily understood, since the 1930-35 trend shows a reversal of previous decades, it does suggest the difficulties involved in attempting to analyze the significance of an incipient trend of such recent development. A steady stream of people *leaving the farm* is constantly meeting a more or less steady stream *coming to the farm*. The net result to the farm population is available in the census returns, but the extremely important sociological information as to what manner of people are leaving the farms and what manner of people are coming to them is difficult to obtain. In any case, the movement from one place to another represents a quest for opportunity, but the contradictory procedure of two groups going in opposite directions in search of this opportunity is not readily understandable without a classification of the various people involved in the movement according to their several possibilities, interests, and abilities. In this, census data gave inadequate aid, and but a small volume of scattered information of doubtful application is available from other sources. Yet it seems that such information is essential for an understanding of the nature of this movement.

Offhand, two items occur to the writer which may give some clues, in addition to those suggested in Dr. Taeuber's paper, as to the characteristics of the people involved in these population shifts. The first one has to do with tenancy. During the 1930-35 period, farm tenancy declined relatively in the Southern States. The accompanying increase in farm ownership appears to be associated in certain sections with a considerable movement to submarginal farms, in which the general status of the owner is probably less satisfactory than that of his tenant neighbor. In the instance of this type of movement from city and town to farm—and the amount of such is not known—it is obvious that the opportunity sought by the migrant is of a very low order, being little in excess of a place to stay, with the possibility of subsistence with an indifferent roof over his head. But in comparison with unemployment, he considers this an opportunity. The movement of this group is receiving some study but it obviously needs much more.

A second source of evidence on the characteristics of these migrants may be obtained from the study of certain special groups within the population. Recently, those families receiving relief have probably been more studied than any other single group. Some information from this angle is available from the writer's study of the 30,028 Alabama farm families who were on the Alabama relief rolls in September of 1934. At this time 85 per cent of these families resided in the open country, 11 per cent in the villages, and 4 per cent in the towns and cities. With a few exceptions, the village and city residents comprising this 15 per cent had, within the past several years, been actual farm residents and were so classed on the relief rolls. The presumption is that they were displaced from their farm residence by the depression and, lacking other opportunities, moved to the towns or cities. As to length of residence, those living on farms in September of 1934 had lived there an average of 38 years; those living in villages, three years, and those in towns and cities but one year. The open-country residents likewise show a considerably longer continuous residence in the county than those in the villages and cities. With an average of 28 years for the whole group, those living in the open country show a continuous residence in the

county of 29 years, those in the villages of 28 years, and those in the towns and cities of 20 years. It appears that many of these displaced farmers have first moved to the villages fairly close at hand, and from there to the towns and cities, using the village as a kind of stepping stone. Naturally, the moves from village to city often cross county lines, hence the shorter length of continuous residence in the county for city residents, as well as the definitely shorter term of residence within the city itself.

In the main, these data indicate the movement of a substantial group of disadvantaged farm families to the villages, towns, and cities, presumably in search of opportunity. At the same time an even larger number, many of them likewise disadvantaged, moved from the cities, towns, and villages to the farms, also in search of opportunity. The point I wish to make is that as yet little data are available as to the characteristics of these migrants. And it is possible that the nature and significance of this movement cannot be accurately known until it has had time to settle down somewhat. Dr. Taeuber's paper gives the broad outlines of the movement, but only as additional data become available can its full significance be appreciated and its exact nature be understood.

Notes

THE FORMATION OF RURAL PUBLIC OPINION

What are the factors influencing the formation of rural public opinion? How do farmers and other rural folk "make up their minds?" Do they blindly follow the propagandist, or do they arrive at their decisions on the basis of a careful analysis of the issues at stake, and act accordingly?

These are some of the questions which prompted a recent study to determine some of the factors influencing the decisions of 201 rural people on a single public issue. This study revealed that "allegiance to one's political party" was the most influential factor in helping these people to decide for whom to vote at the last presidential election. The influence of the radio ranked second as an important factor, and the printed word held a prominent place. How much rural people really think for themselves, it is not possible to determine with any degree of accuracy in this study. With only one or two exceptions, none of the more significant overt factors influenced these people to any great extent. In no case were large majorities "swayed by the subtle forces of propaganda," but on the other hand, there is reason to believe that in many cases the full power of intellectual reasoning was not applied.

A single township in northwestern Ohio was selected as a typical rural community. While the discovery of the factors influencing public opinion in all important issues was desired, it was thought best to select for this study a single issue on which there recently had been public expression enough to enable individuals to recall, as accurately as possible, the degree of influence which certain selected factors had had on their decisions on this problem. Accordingly, the presidential election of November, 1936, (then only a month old) was chosen. About 250 representative citizens of this community were asked to check a questionnaire on which had been listed the factors indicated in Table I, each of which was followed by a rating scale, "much—some—little—none." Each person was directed to underscore the word which indicated most accurately the degree of influence of each factor on his decision to vote as he did. Provision was made for the addition of significant factors not included in the questionnaire, and each person was asked, after checking it, to state the single factor which had had the most influence. (See Table III.)

The county of which this township is a part is one of the strongest Republican counties in the state. For years, this township supported Republican candidates, and in November gave 393 votes to Landon as compared with 239 to Roosevelt. The community boasts of the first centralized school in northwestern Ohio, and takes pride in its local achievements. Five villages remain within the township, even though the oil boom of the 1890's, which was responsible for their settlement and development, has long since become an indistinct echo. About two out

of every three people in this community are engaged in agricultural pursuits, the remainder securing their living from the remnants of the oil industry, quarrying, manufacturing, and local business enterprises.

Table I shows the relative influence of the various factors for all of the 201 people involved in the study and the influence of these same factors by groups.¹

TABLE I
INDEXES OF INFLUENCE OF SELECTED FACTORS ON DECISIONS MADE BY 201
RURAL PEOPLE ON A PUBLIC ISSUE

Factors of Influence	Column (1)	Column (2)*		Column (3)		Column (4)			Column (5)†	
	Average for 201 Rural People	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(c)	(a)	(b)
		101 Men	99 Women	118 Farmers	83 Rural Nonfarm People	57 People Under 35 Years of Age	57 People Between 35 and 50 Years Age	87 People Over 50 Years of Age	130 Who Voted for Landon	69 Who Voted for Roosevelt
1. Local Newspapers.....	.37	.33	.39	.37	.38	.36	.34	.39	.52	.16
2. Urban Newspapers.....	.43	.37	.49	.47	.37	.60	.31	.40	.52	.34
3. Agricultural Magazines....	.15	.18	.13	.17	.13	.08	.18	.18	.14	.17
4. Farm Org's. Magazines....	.09	.13	.07	.12	.06	.07	.09	.12	.09	.12
5. Other Magazines.....	.24	.17	.35	.21	.27	.21	.29	.23	.23	.25
6. Books, Pamphlets.....	.24	.18	.31	.23	.28	.25	.19	.27	.31	.13
7. Radio Addresses.....	.50	.50	.50	.53	.47	.31	.52	.60	.53	.45
8. Newsreels, Theatre.....	.10	.08	.13	.04	.21	.27	.04	.05	.12	.06
9. Billboard Advertising.....	.05	.03	.08	.06	.05	.09	.09	.02	.07	.03
10. Other Political Adv.....	.12	.06	.19	.05	.23	.29	.07	.06	.11	.14
11. Pol. Party Rallies.....	.16	.20	.12	.27	.08	.20	.16	.14	.23	.05
12. Opinions of Family.....	.40	.34	.43	.36	.44	.40	.45	.38	.45	.31
13. Opinions of Friends.....	.25	.23	.26	.24	.26	.28	.25	.24	.35	.09
14. Opinions of Pastor.....	.10	.12	.09	.10	.11	.09	.16	.07	.14	.02
15. Opinions of Local Leaders.	.17	.23	.12	.19	.15	.20	.10	.20	.25	.05
16. Party Allegiance.....	.58	.59	.58	.65	.51	.77	.41	.58	.63	.50
17. Improved Eco. Conditions.	.40	.46	.35	.46	.35	.43	.47	.32	.31	.57
18. Approval										
or Disap-										
proval of										
Roosevelt's										
Policies										
a. Relief....	.38	.38	.37	.32	.45	.45	.25	.39	.34	.44
b. Fin'c'l Aid	.34	.36	.32	.35	.32	.32	.28	.39	.32	.37
c. Farm Pol.	.43	.48	.38	.36	.51	.50	.33	.44	.37	.54
d. Labor Pol.	.23	.25	.23	.21	.26	.37	.26	.12	.21	.29
19. Approval or Disapproval										
of Polc's Other Candidates	.47	.42	.51	.38	.56	.44	.62	.39	.45	.49
20. Approval or Disapproval										
of Personalities other										
Candidates.....	.36	.38	.34	.35	.37	.45	.28	.35	.44	.20

*This column totals only 200 because one person did not indicate sex.

†This column totals only 199 because two persons voted for Thomas.

¹ In order to represent statistically the data secured from the questionnaires an *index of influence* was determined for each factor. This was found by arbitrarily weighting the *extreme* responses "much" and "none" two points (inasmuch as they were more positive and decisive), and the *mean* responses "some" and "little" one point each as follows:

	No. People Checking	Weighted as Indicated	
1. Local newspaper	much...16	...32	—104 (significant influence)
	some...72	...72	
	little...48	...48	—178 (little or no influence)
	none...65	...130	

For the purpose of analysis these factors have been divided into five categories: (1) the printed word, including local and urban newspapers, magazines, books and pamphlets, billboards and other political advertising; (2) the spoken word including the radio, party rallies, the opinions of members of the family, of friends, of the pastor, and of local leaders, and to some extent the newsreel; (3) graphic and pictorial media, such as newsreels and the movie, and billboards, newspapers, and magazines to the extent that pictures, cartoons, and graphs are included; (4) emotional factors, including allegiance to a political party, the approval or disapproval of the personalities of the candidates, and the opinions of family, friends, pastor, and local leaders, to the extent that these factors represent mere emotionalization rather than rationalization; (5) existing conditions and the policies responsible for them, including improved economic conditions and the approval or disapproval of Roosevelt's or Landon's policies.

THE PRINTED WORD

Table I indicates that the printed word in newspapers and magazines holds an important place in the formation of rural opinion. Lack of space forbids a detailed analysis of the data but adequate interpretations can be made only in the light of certain local factors. The low index for billboard advertising (1)² may be accounted for by the lack of billboards in this community; the higher indexes for women than men (2) may indicate that women have more time to read than men, or it may mean that they are more easily influenced; the higher indexes for men (2a) and for farmers (3a) on farm magazines result probably from specialized interests; the difference in indexes on newspapers in Column 5 is explained by the Republican bias of the local paper and the fact that the urban Republican paper has a wider circulation than the urban Democratic paper; and the differences in books and pamphlets (5) may perhaps be accounted for by the greater strength of the local Republican organization.

When the factors utilizing the printed word are considered as a group, the *index of influence* is roughly .21 (see Table II) but it must be remembered that

TABLE II
"INDEXES OF INFLUENCE" OF THE FIVE GROUPS OF FACTORS

The printed word.....	.21
The spoken word.....	.23
Graphic and pictorial material.....	.10 to .20
Emotional factors.....	.31 to .58
Actual conditions and policies responsible for them.....	.41

this is only an approximation inasmuch as the influence of graphic materials

Adding the weighted scores we have 104 for significant influence and 178 for little or no influence. Dividing 104 by 282 (104+178) we arrive at .37, the *index of influence* for this factor.

This *index of influence* merely provides a basis of comparison of one factor with another, and simply means, in this instance, that in 100 hypothetical cases this factor would have significant influence in 37 of the cases and little or no influence in the other 63 cases.

² Numbers refer to columns in Table I.

cannot be separated from the influence of the printed word. However, we may say that *in this study approximately every fifth person recognized the printed word as a significant factor in helping him to make a decision on an important public issue.*

THE SPOKEN WORD

The second group of factors, utilizing the medium of the spoken word, is constantly becoming more and more important. While radio addresses exerted the most influence of this group of factors, the opinions of one's family (which fall partly in this classification) are likewise quite significant in this study, and discussions with friends and local leaders appear to have some influence (1). The data in Column 4 lead one to suggest that older people listen to the radio and are influenced by it more than younger people, while young people appear to be influenced more by newsreels and movies, perhaps because they attend them more often; and the consistent difference of influence of these factors between those who voted for Landon and those who voted for Roosevelt (5) may perhaps be explained by the fact that a Republican's friends, other members of his family, his pastor, and local leaders (political and nonpolitical) are much more apt to be of the same political opinion than a Democrat's, simply because of the larger number of Republicans residing in the community.

The index of influence for this group of factors is approximately .23 which means that *probably every fourth or fifth person in this study recognized the spoken word as a significant factor for the formation of individual opinions on an important public issue.*

GRAPHIC AND PICTORIAL MATERIALS

Graphic and pictorial materials do not appear to hold as important a place in the formation of rural opinion as other factors. The movie, and especially the newsreel, while probably quite significant in urban areas, does not influence rural people greatly, according to this study. Probably quite as important as the movie in rural areas are cartoons and mats of carefully selected "news pictures" which appear in the newspapers and magazines read by the ruralite. Their influence in this study cannot be separated from the printed word, but it appears reasonable to assume that .10 to .20 is a fair *index of influence* for this group of factors, or that *probably every fifth to tenth person in this study recognized graphic and pictorial media as significant factors in the determination of opinions on an important public issue.*

EMOTIONAL FACTORS

It has previously been indicated in this report that emotional factors are quite significant in the formation of rural opinion. Table I indicates that farmers (3a) tend to be influenced by party allegiance more than rural nonfarm people, although the difference is not as marked as between the younger group (4a) and the middle-aged group (4b). Furthermore the data seem to indicate that Landon (5a) gained a few more votes because of this factor than did Roosevelt, and that more Landonites were influenced by the personalities of the candidates

(favorably or unfavorably) than were Rooseveltians. The possibility that those voting for Landon were influenced by emotional factors more than Roosevelt's supporters may be further substantiated by the differences indicated in factors relating to "opinions of other persons," (5) (or this difference may be entirely due to the prevalence of more Republicans than Democrats, as was previously suggested).

Considering these factors as a group one may say roughly that probably *every second or third person in this study recognized emotional factors as significant in the formation of opinions on the problem of for whom to vote in the last presidential election.*

ACTUAL CONDITIONS

The fifth group of factors, comparing actual conditions and policies responsible for them, appears to be most significant as a group in influencing rural public opinion (see Table II). The data in Column 3 show that the nonfarm rural people in this study felt more keenly about the policies of Landon and Roosevelt than did the farmers, but the farmers were more strongly influenced by improved economic conditions. This is probably best explained by the more intimate contact that nonfarm people had with W.P.A. projects, and because farmers have benefited more directly by rising prices and general improvement in economic conditions.

The closer intimacy of young people with relief work may likewise account for some of the differences revealed in Column 4, and the higher *indexes of influence* in favor of Roosevelt supporters (5) are best understood in terms of party differences. It is only to be expected that improved economic conditions would influence those who voted for Roosevelt more than those who voted for Landon.

Summarizing the influence of this fifth group of factors, one may say then that inasmuch as the average *index of influence* for these factors is .41 (Table II) *approximately two out of five of the people in this study recognized actual conditions and policies responsible for them as significant factors in influencing opinions on an important public issue.*

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

What conclusions may one draw from this study of factors responsible for rural opinion? How *do* rural folk "make up their minds?" From the data here presented several conclusions seem justified. First, none of the factors listed in this study was significant to a large majority of the 201 rural people answering the questionnaire, and only one, party allegiance, was of significant influence in more than fifty of a hundred hypothetical cases (1).

Second, emotionalization appears to be one of the more common means of resolving important public issues in this community, especially among the younger people (1, 4a).

Third, the radio is a significant influence in the formation of public opinion, especially among the older people (1, 4c).

Fourth, the influence of certain factors, such as billboard advertising, farm

TABLE III
MOST SIGNIFICANT FACTORS AS INDICATED BY ANSWERS TO QUESTION 22
ON THE QUESTIONNAIRE*

	<i>No. of persons stating this factor the most significant</i>
1. Spending of large sums of money, extravagance, waste.....	13
2. Approval or disapproval of certain policies to operate efficiently.....	11
3. A particular speech, by radio or printed word.....	8
4. Approval or disapproval of personalities of candidates.....	4
5. High taxes.....	3
6. Desire for social security.....	2
7. Repeal of the 18th Amendment.....	2
8. "The administration's refusal to call a national day of prayer".....	1

*Question 21 provided for the addition of significant factors not listed. Only a few persons added any, and most of these were repetitions in one form or another of the factors already listed.

organization magazines, the movie, and the opinions of one's pastor, is comparatively insignificant (1).

Fifth, the differences revealed between men and women are less than those between rural farm and nonfarm people, between persons who voted for Landon and those who voted for Roosevelt, and among the different age groups.

Finally, it seems fair to conclude that many factors influence the formation of rural public opinion. Not always are these factors revealed as positive agencies, and propaganda and emotionalization play their parts. However, there is evidence in this study to indicate that many rural folk have developed habits and patterns of sound reasoning and frequently exert a high degree of intelligence in making decisions on important public issues.

The conclusions of this study are based on 201 cases in a single rural community, and no attempt should be made to apply them generally. The study was intended to serve only as a basis for a more comprehensive study of the factors influencing rural public opinion, and to suggest techniques for carrying on more intensive research in this area.

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WHAT THE FARMER IS THINKING ABOUT

What is uppermost in the farmer's mind now? What thought patterns and attitudes constantly prevail among rural people? An answer to the first question would be as important an element in the agricultural situation as a survey of crop conditions. An adequate answer to the second question, although a somewhat different problem, would be invaluable to the Secretary of Agriculture or the administrators of any agencies dealing with agricultural people. If governmental agencies initiate programs which are contrary to the fundamental thought patterns and mores of the farmer, they are almost certainly doomed to failure.

Social scientists and philosophers, before and since the early Greeks and Romans, have written about the nature of rural as contrasted to urban behavior, moral codes, attitudes, and beliefs. There are many generalizations about these characteristics. Many of these generalities are supported by fact; others are not.

With the exception of some pre-election polling activities, little attention is given to ascertaining that which is uppermost in the farmer's mind at any one given time. Few would challenge the assumption that an adequate portrayal of the agricultural situation could not omit a consideration of what the farmer thinks about current issues, yet scant attention has been directed toward shedding light upon the subject.

If several thousand farmers in the 48 states should receive blank sheets of paper with franked envelopes addressed to the Secretary of Agriculture, and if these farmers could be induced to write with little or no restriction or suggestion concerning the subject, most farmers would give expression to the thoughts uppermost in their minds. Something of this nature happens each year when thousands of farm reporters are asked to report the status of the crops and livestock possessions. Of course these replies come from the better-to-do farmers. Those reports with comments concerning current or other topics, which were not requested in the blank, cannot be said to be a random sample of the farm population. The comments do give expression, however, to the thoughts and beliefs of a vast number of crop-reporting farmers.

The Division of Farm Population and Rural Life has tabulated 12,532 schedules mailed in from the 48 states by farmers who have given the necessary items of information required to make the annual farm population estimate for 1936. In the depression year 1933, 23,576 families reported the population changes on their farms. This year (1937) 2,089, or 16.7 per cent, and in 1933, 5,386, or 22.8 per cent of the schedules had letters or comments directed to the Secretary of Agriculture and the Chief of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. Some of the one-page schedules have the request, "Your personal comments concerning the movement of persons to and from farms in your locality will be greatly appreciated. Please use other side of sheet." Others carried no suggestion that the farmer write to officials in Washington. The comments in the notes and letters are of great variety. Some are an attempt to give the Washington officials a "piece of the writer's mind." Others are pleas for assistance. The comments range from a request for the Secretary of Agriculture or the Chief of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics to furnish a widowed farmer with a blue-eyed wife who knows how to milk, to metaphysical dissertations on the nature of final causes and the ultimate goals of the universe. However, the comments tend to focalize about certain specific points of interest. They reveal what is topmost in the writer's mind. They offer some indications concerning the writer's background of thought, and the attitudes and beliefs which are constant elements in his mental behavior.

ECONOMIC DISTRESS NOW AND DURING THE DEPRESSION

How does the present thinking of the farmer about current topics differ from his depression psychology of 1933? Relatively more of the farmers include comments for the Secretary or the Chief of the Bureau in 1933 than in 1937. The 1933 comments concerned themselves with fewer subjects than do the 1937 comments. In 1933 most farmers were affected by one common stimulus, namely,

the depression. Their responses were conditioned and channeled toward fewer focal points of interest by this one factor. In 1933 a notable number of the farmers declared that revolution was at hand, that "if things don't change we will change to highjacking and bank robbing," and that the "farmer will lose his patience this year (1933) if some relief doesn't come in some form or another." Thirty-four per cent of all 1933 comments (omitting comments concerning population which was the subject of the investigation) convey the connotation of economic distress.

The most common reasons given for distress in this depression year of 1933 were low prices, high taxes, and foreclosures. "Some farmers have committed suicide on account of foreclosures." "Even if the mortgage has taken the place you cannot pry them (the farmers) off with a crowbar." "The more we produce the more we lose." "Farmers do not need more credit but more time on their debts—*recess* on foreclosure." Over 20 per cent of all the comments stated that city people were going to the farm and 42 per cent of the comments concerning this movement held the depression responsible. As a contrast to the depression comments, less than 10 per cent of all the comments of the 1937 schedules indicate economic distress. However, a considerable number of schedules record distress due to drought, erosion, bad weather, and poor crops. No farmer mentions revolution in the 1937 reports. Many, however, give the presence of economic royalists, represented by middlemen, "Wall Street" and bankers, as a cause for economic distress. "Big interests control the milk market. Middlemen take all the profit."

LABOR SUPPLY NOW AND DURING THE DEPRESSION

During the depression year of 1933 a considerable number of farmers reported that labor was plentiful and wages low. Almost as many farmers are now claiming that labor is scarce and wages high. One of the most common causes given for the shortage of labor and higher wages is the Works Progress Administration's program. Although in 1933 some farmers complained that public works and charity were causing wages to be too high, in 1937 twice as many are complaining about the Works Progress Administration and its influence in raising wages and decreasing the supply of available labor.

OPTIMISM MORE PREVALENT NOW

Among the comments received in 1937 there is an expression of optimism which was completely absent in the 1933 reports. At least 13 per cent of all comments carried a connotation of optimism. Causes for optimism include the statements that prices are better and there is a sale for farm property, that new houses are going up and repairs are being made.

REFERENCES TO THE GOVERNMENT NOW AND DURING THE DEPRESSION

In 1933, nine per cent of all comments (exclusive of comments relating to population) mentioned the government. Most of these comments pleaded for the government to *do* something. "Nero fiddled while Rome burned—history is repeating itself." The most prominent request was for a moratorium on debt

and for low interest rates. Such a typical statement was: "The government should treat its farmers at least as well as foreign nations." In the 1937 schedules eight per cent of the comments (exclusive of references to farm population) involve the government. Thirty-seven per cent of all these comments refer to the Works Progress Administration as an agency which destroys morals or raises the price of labor. "The Works Progress Administration has been a curse to this country." Over three times as many comments are for the programs of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration and Soil Conservation Service, as are against these programs. Although a considerable number of the comments on the depression schedules demanded that the government economize, this is true for very few of those returned this year. During the depression year such comments were common as: "We demand a 50 per cent cut in all wages to stop big leaks in government expenses and a 50 per cent cut in taxes." Farmers are apparently becoming more accustomed to meeting "high paid" government officials, for such comments are fewer among the 1937 reports.

In this year's schedules a trend toward big farm operations was frequently reported for Nebraska, Kansas, Texas, Iowa, Oklahoma, and Illinois. "The fellow with power machinery gets all the land and thus a lot of farmers are displaced and must go on relief." Also the opinion: "There must be a division of farms—or else . . ." "Big wheat farmers have all the land and prefer to leave their houses empty. As a result many farmers have no land or houses. The governor should stop this." No such general trend as indicated by these comments was mentioned in 1933.

Thirteen per cent of the comments for both the depression and this year (excluding comments concerning population) refer to other tenure classes. The belief that "tenancy is becoming a menace to agriculture and to community life" is stated in the 1937 reports. The most common subject of these comments is that tenants and laborers are mobile elements in the population. About one-fourth of all comments explaining the reasons for population changes (19 per cent of all comments in 1933 and 36 per cent in 1937) maintain that the population was stable because the majority of the farmers in the community were owners.

The references to the back-to-the-land movement in the schedules for 1937 are negligible. In 1933 a frequent comment involved the opinion that "city people should stay put" because they would become a burden to local charity in the rural areas, they didn't know how to farm, they had no money and equipment, and they would reduce consumption and increase production.

What may be said to be the constant ideas and attitudes expressed by the farmers during the depression and the present year? Although the farmer may be no more of a proverbial complainer than some other elements in the population, the reports do not indicate that the American farmer intends to remain silently submissive. Excluding comments involving population changes (about which the farmer was actually requested to write his opinion) 31 per cent of all comments in 1933 and 17 per cent in 1937 gave definite indications of what might be classified as grumbling. In both years low prices and high taxes were subjects of complaint. In 1933 almost half of the complaints centered on the

shortage of houses which of course was definitely related to the back-to-the-land movement in the areas surrounding the large cities.

In a farm society which depends for its livelihood upon commercial farming, prices are likely to be important in the farmer's consideration of what should be done to ameliorate his condition. From the earliest farm organizations, beginning with and even before the Grange in 1867 to the present, attention of the American farmer has been centered upon the prices and market régime. This is not true of self-sufficient peasant societies where thought is centered about the relationship of the tiller of the soil to the land which he tills, and the social and economic status which results from this relationship. In most agricultural societies having a centralized government, regardless of whether the agricultural economy is dependent upon the market régime or not, taxes in the minds of the farmers are usually too high and government officials overpaid. The complaints registered by farmers on the population schedules for 1933 and 1937 are typical of commercialized agriculture insofar as they refer so frequently to low prices for farm products and high prices for nonfarm products. They are typical of agricultural society generally insofar as they refer to taxes.

Isolated excerpts from statements such as the following give expression to common rural attitudes. "The government is wrong to encourage city people to come to farms. They compete with hard-pressed established farmers and mistreat the soil." "City people have fine medical aid and generally have an easy time of things." "The townspeople are taxing the farmers to death for town schools." "The government helps only the economic royalists." "City folks make poor neighbors." "Common people are taxed to death while the government is sending millions to big business." "City people can't get along without the conveniences they left." "Too many farm boys are taken by the C.C.C.; they don't want to come back." "A lot of worthless people go to cities to draw government relief checks—play pool and go to picture shows."

As the following statement on a 1933 report indicates, the farmer has no great love for politicians. "If some of our peanut politicians aren't poisoned we'll all be eating with the Red Cross in one more year. I have some left-over calcium arsenate. That is too expensive to feed to boll weevils now."

Objections to the survey are not uncommon among the comments. They also indicate other general attitudes held by farmers. For example: "Dear Sir, we have an Institution for caring for insane people at Mt. Pleasant, Iowa—send the man or woman who wrote out these questions and we will put him in for a year—such bunk." This survey is "just a waste of the taxpayer's money." "But as farmers burdened with taxes we are *strongly opposed* to so much of this useless and unnecessary clerical expense in gathering and filing such statistics that really mean nothing to the majority of the people." "If a lot of this (population schedules) foolishness as well as the unnecessary expense were cut out, probably our taxes would not be so much of a burden." "This whole thing is a lot of baloney at the taxpayer's expense."

U. S. Division of Farm Population and Rural Life

CHARLES P. LOOMIS
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Current Bulletins

Charles P. Loomis

FAMILY LIVING

"Family Living in Knott County, Kentucky,"¹ has been described by a field investigation of 228 families in 1930. The study includes an analysis of the income and expenditure patterns for four value-of-living groups. The value of furnished as well as purchased goods and services, which constitute the total value of living, is presented for the categories of food, clothing, housing, household operation, furnishings and equipment, transportation, personal care, medical care, recreation, reading materials, tobacco, formal education, community welfare, contributions and gifts to persons outside the family, and miscellaneous items. Using these categories the consumption pattern of the 228 Knott County families is compared with that of families included in studies made in Vermont, Wisconsin, and two other Kentucky counties. Forty-one families representative of the 228 were interviewed daily during July and August, in order to obtain detailed records of food consumption.

In addition, social, economic, and vital characteristics of the people, such as population trends, family size and composition, kinship, age of marriage, mobility, education, and health, are described. An inventory of home furnishings, equipment, and reading material, as well as educational and health facilities, is given.

The fact that the value of purchased and furnished food constituted 61 per cent of the value of living is taken as one evidence of the low level of living of the families. The average family had a value of living of \$964 and was composed of six persons. Fifty-four per cent of this living was furnished, since the cash incomes of the families averaged only \$494. Cash income from farm products amounted to only \$56, the chief source of cash income being that from nonfarm employment. Diet deficiencies and lack of housing, health, and community facilities, as well as the low level of consumption of the families studied, bespeak a low material level of living.

"Rural Housing in Louisiana"² is described by an analysis of interviews with husbands or wives made by Civil Works Administration employees in 1934. The study concerns 16,403 houses in six selected parishes. Comparisons of extent

¹ Faith M. Williams, Hazel K. Stiebeling, Idella G. Swisher, and Gertrude Schmidt Weiss, "Family Living in Knott County, Kentucky," United States Department of Agriculture, *Technical Bulletin No. 576*, Washington, D. C., August, 1937 (pp. 69).

² Ellen LeNoir and T. Lynn Smith, "Rural Housing in Louisiana," Louisiana Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 290*, Baton Rouge, August, 1937 (pp. 35).

of ownership, age of house, materials of construction, as well as of adequacy of the home are made for tenure and racial groups. Measures of adequacy are based upon the size and density of occupancy of the dwellings, prevalence of living rooms, dining rooms, front or side and back porches, and bathrooms. Home conveniences, such as water in the house, kitchen sinks, lights, and refrigeration, are also used as indices of adequacy.

Home ownership was found to be more prevalent upon poor soil than upon fertile soil, except where fertile soil is associated with truck farming, or French ancestry and a cultural pattern of the people based upon cultivation of small plots by the family. Parishes with the greatest proportion of owners had the largest proportions of new houses. Old houses characterized the areas of fertile soil and to some extent the plantation system. Except where French and Midwest influences are strong, less than 20 per cent of the houses are painted. ". . . in most respects, owners' homes are more nearly adequate than tenants, and white homes are more nearly adequate than colored." In most of the measures colored owners were found to have more adequate houses than white tenants. . . . lack of conveniences is due to habit of doing without (cultural compulsion), as well as to financial inability."

A United States Department of Agriculture publication, "Farm Family Living, 1938,"³ presents a series of charts and tables relative to prices paid for goods purchased for the farm family and the average value of furnished and purchased family living. The proportions which the separate categories constituting this total value of living make of the total are graphically indicated for nine areas. The basis for family living data included was the National Consumer Purchases study.

Eighty scattered farm family living studies made in 31 states from 1920-35 have been summarized by the Bureau of Home Economics of the United States Department of Agriculture.⁴ The studies represent 18,893 families. Average for value of living and categories composing this are given by region and value of living groups. The money value of living is adjusted to 1935 values.

The Bureau of Home Economics of the United States Department of Agriculture is now releasing the preliminary results of a study of consumer purchases in selected areas. The material, which has already been collected by Works Progress Administration workers in the various states, under the direction of supervisors selected by the state universities, is all being tabulated, studied, and analyzed in the Bureau of Home Economics in Washington. Twenty-three state areas have been studied to date. Approximately 30 releases involving the analysis of these data have been received.

Score cards were used in an analysis of the standard of living and its relation to farm management practices in Michigan.⁵ The investigation indicated high

³ *Agricultural Outlook Charts*, "Farm Family Living, 1938," United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics and the Bureau of Home Economics, Washington, D. C., October, 1937 (Rotoprinted, pp.27).

⁴ Medora M. Ward, *Farm Family Living, 1920-1935*, United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Home Economics, Washington, 1937 (mimeographed, pp. 56).

⁵ Eben Mumford, J. F. Thaden, and Margaret Cawood Spurway, "The Standard of Living of Farm Families in Selected Michigan Communities," Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station, *Special Bulletin* 287, East Lansing, October, 1937 (pp. 47).

positive correlation among high standard of living, farm management scores, social participation, and leadership for the 240 records analyzed.

RELIEF AND REHABILITATION

"An Analysis of the Relief Population in Selected Areas of Maryland"⁶ includes seven sample counties and Baltimore City. Data for the study of the relief population of Baltimore were secured for the most part through personal interviews with every fourteenth case in the active file for the month of May. Substantially a 100 per cent sample of active relief cases receiving public assistance during October was obtained in seven counties with relatively large relief populations.

The analysis includes comparisons of age, sex, and race compositions of the relief and general population for the seven counties and Baltimore. Also a statement of the size of households, number of gainful workers in relief households, and socioeconomic type of usual occupation of heads of relief and non-relief families is included. Age, schooling, race, nativity, disabilities, and usual occupations of workers on relief as well as the length of experience in the usual occupation, the period of unemployment, and average weekly earnings and hours employed at nonrelief jobs in October, 1934, are presented.

As far as dependency resulting in emergency relief is concerned the depression was the greatest contributing factor in Baltimore. In some of the counties, however, depletion of natural resources, especially timber, coal, and sea food, was causing hardship even before the depression.

The relatively large number of elderly unemployables resulting from emigration of younger people and stranded workers who had been dependent upon coal and sea foods for part of their livelihood will require assistance in the future.

The history of unemployment relief in Arizona is presented in an agricultural experiment station bulletin.⁷ There is included a summary of the extent and distribution of relief assistance rendered, beginning with loans made for that purpose by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation in October, 1932, and continued by the program of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Emergency Relief Administration, Civil Works Administration, Civilian Conservation Corps, National Youth Administration, Works Progress Administration, and Resettlement Administration to the end of 1936, when a diversified program of aid based principally upon work relief and loans was in existence. A survey of rural and town relief households in four Arizona counties in June, October, and December, 1935, indicates important trends. A statement of the outlook for return of the relief population to self-support is given. Also several case histories are included.

⁶ Theodore B. Manny and Harry G. Clowes, "An Analysis of the Relief Population in Selected Areas of Maryland," *Mimeograph Circular No. 1*, Social Research Division of the Works Progress Administration, Board of State Aid and Charities of State of Maryland, the Department of Sociology, University of Maryland, co-operating, College Park, August, 1937 (mimeographed, pp. 77).

⁷ E. D. Tetreau, "Unemployment Relief in Arizona from October 1, 1932, through December 31, 1936, with a Special Analysis of Rural and Town Relief Households," Arizona Agricultural Experiment Station in co-operation with the Works Progress Administration, *Bulletin No. 156*, Tucson, July, 1937 (pp. 128).

In Montana one person out of five in the rural areas (open country and places with less than 5,000 persons) was on relief in February, 1935. In urban areas this proportion was somewhat more, approximately three out of every 10 persons. Of a million dollar expenditure for relief in February, 1935, about 83 per cent went to relief families, 7 per cent to administrative costs, and an additional 10 per cent for materials, equipment, rent, and other costs, as well as wages for persons both on and off relief.

Twenty-nine per cent of the heads of relief families in five selected counties were 20 to 45 years of age, usually the period of highest earning in the life cycle of individuals. These and other facts relative to characteristics of the relief population and administration of relief in Montana are presented in an experiment station bulletin.⁸

A report⁹ includes the relief history of rural households which received public aid in the general program of the Virginia Emergency Relief Administration. Monthly turnover of cases, reasons for opening and closing cases, duration of relief, period of time cases had been without nonrelief employment, and types and amounts of relief are among the subjects treated.

"Characteristics of Arkansas Rehabilitation Clients"¹⁰ with respect to distribution by counties and types of farming areas; farming experience; race; age; reasons for relief and types of relief received; length of time on relief; mobility, both geographical and vertical during the last 20 years; size of households; number of dependents; birth rate; density of occupancy of houses; size or type of place of residence; occupation; size and type of farm; cotton yields, farm equipment, and livestock; indebtedness; educational attainments; and health, at the time of application for loans, are treated in a State Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin.

Basic data were the application forms of the 19,000 rehabilitation clients granted loans in 1935 and the 3,000 who were disapproved. The rehabilitation families were relatively large, their houses were overcrowded, and much necessary farm equipment was lacking. Ten per cent claimed to have health impairments, 85 per cent were in debt, 30 per cent had no canned goods, and 78 per cent had no canned meat.

The Works Progress Administration began the collection of current statistics of public and private relief in 385 selected rural and town areas throughout the United States in March, 1936. In previous issues this section of the Rural Journal has referred to the reports which summarize the findings concerning month

⁸ Carl F. Kraenzel, assisted by Ruth B. McIntosh, "The Relief Problem in Montana, A Study of the Change in the Character of the Relief Population," Montana Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 343*, Bozeman, Montana, June, 1937 (pp. 64).

⁹ B. L. Hummel and C. G. Bennett, "Relief History Rural Emergency Relief Cases in Virginia, 1935," Social Research Division of Works Progress Administration and Virginia Polytechnic Institute, *Rural Relief Series, No. 3*, Blacksburg, Virginia, April, 1937 (mimeographed, pp. 43).

¹⁰ W. T. Wilson and W. H. Metzler, "Characteristics of Arkansas Rehabilitation Clients," Arkansas Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 348*, Fayetteville, June, 1937 (pp. 47).

to month changes in the number of recipients and cost of relief in rural areas which might be typical of the entire rural population. Data for previous years beginning with 1932 have also been reported.¹¹

On July 1, 1937, complete responsibility for the continuance of the rural town reporting series was transferred to the Social Security Board.¹² In these monthly bulletins the public assistance payments have been analyzed according to (1) method of financing, (2) the nature of administrative responsibility, and (3) the classification of recipients. The five principal programs for administration of public assistance were (1) the Works Program, (2) emergency subsistence payments to farmers, (3) special types of public assistance under the Social Security Act, (4) similar special types of public assistance administered outside the Social Security Act, and (5) general relief. Most of the monthly bulletins include tables and charts which depict general trends of public assistance, as well as special programs of assistance rendered under the Social Security Act.

POPULATION MIGRATION

That the recent economic depression reduced the volume but failed to change the nature of the pattern of migration with respect to the distribution of migrants to country, village, and city is revealed by an Ohio study.¹³ Field enumerators interviewed 2,554 rural households located in ten rural townships and eight villages. Emphasis was placed upon movements of the resident population and adult children during the period 1928 to 1935.

Except in the urbanized northeastern section there was a net loss of population due to migration during the period from 1930 to 1935. Although similar in trend, the net loss was only two-thirds as heavy as it was during the previous decade, 1920 to 1930. This difference in net loss during the two periods was partly the result of a slower rate of emigration and partly a result of immigration. Persons reared in the areas studied shifted toward the rural districts after 1929. They gave preference to the villages as compared with the open country.

The findings indicate that there has been an accumulation of rural youth in the rural districts. Since 1930, failure to migrate has been at least twice as important as return migration in actuating this accumulation.

The net occupational change in the areas from 1928 to 1935 resulted in an increase in the proportion of male heads of families in the group of farm oper-

¹¹ Since the last reference to this series in this section of the Rural Journal, Vol. II, Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7, for the months since December, 1936, and January, 1937, have been received. "Current Statistics of Relief in Rural and Town Areas," *Division of Social Research*, Rural Research Section, Works Progress Administration, Division of Social Research.

¹² "Public Assistance Statistics for the United States," *Bureau of Research and Statistics*, Division of Public Assistance Statistics, Social Security Board. Vol. II, Nos. 9, 10, 11, and 12 have been received. See also Social Security Board Publications, "Current Statistics of Relief in Rural and Town Areas for June and July, 1937, and for the years 1932-1936." Vol. II, No. 7, issued October, 1937, and "Relief in Rural and Town Areas for August, 1937," Vol. II, No. 8, November, 1937.

¹³ C. E. Lively and Frances Foott, "Population Mobility in Selected Areas of Rural Ohio, 1928-1935," Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin 582*, Wooster, June, 1937 (pp. 53).

ators, both as owners and as tenants. Also the group of heads not gainfully employed was substantially increased. These changes represented an attempt on the part of wage workers to avoid unemployment and obtain occupational status of greater security, hence the shift to agriculture. Many were unable to do this, and consequently filled the ranks of the unemployed.

The gross occupational pattern of adult children who left home after 1920 was not markedly disturbed by the depression. However, children of migratory age after 1929 were seriously retarded in their occupational advancement.

Relief families made 40 per cent more moves and 100 per cent more changes of occupation than nonrelief families. Indices such as length of residence, number of changes of domicile, range of mobility, and occupational changes indicate that farm owners were the least mobile group.

The majority of families which moved tended to circulate about over a restricted area. Families which moved long distances proceeded directly to the destination by long jumps rather than short ones. There seemed to be an age cycle of mobility in which the tendency to change place of domicile decreased with age of head.

GENERAL RURAL SURVEYS

"Living Conditions and Population Migration in Four Appalachian Counties"¹⁴ have been reported in a United States Department of Agriculture bulletin. The four counties located in North Carolina and Kentucky were chosen for investigation because of high rates of dependency and increases in number of farmers and farms. The effect of the depression upon the people, their institutions, and industries is described. The report is based upon a field survey made in 1935 and census materials.

"A Basis for Social Planning in Coffee County, Alabama,"¹⁵ furnishes a concrete example of a type of social investigation designed to be of use in an action program, namely, that of rehabilitation of a county. Social institutions and agencies of the inhabitants in superior, intermediate, and inferior land use areas, as determined by the Land Use Planning section of the Resettlement Administration, are described. Also census data are used to indicate the population characteristics and changes.

The better land areas in the county are characterized by younger farm operators, larger farms, smaller families, fewer children, a greater number of literate parents, better schools, and a higher educational level of children than in the poorer areas. On the basis of analysis of land, population, community patterns,

¹⁴ L. S. Dodson, "Living Conditions and Population Migration in Four Appalachian Counties," U. S. Department of Agriculture; The Farm Security Administration and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics co-operating, *Social Research Report No. III*, Washington, October, 1937 (mimeographed, pp. 151).

¹⁵ Karl Shafer, "A Basis for Social Planning in Coffee County, Alabama," *Social Research Report No. VI*, U. S. Department of Agriculture, The Farm Security Administration and Bureau of Agricultural Economics co-operating, Washington, December, 1937 (mimeographed, pp. 48).

and transportation facilities, sites for future economic and social centers are recommended.

A field investigation¹⁶ of 289 families living in south Grafton County, New Hampshire, furnishes data on general resources, land utilization, population, composition, and level of living. On the basis of findings, recommendations for realignment of the people and changes in use of resources are made.

A physical, economic, and social survey of the Valley of the Kaskaskia River Basin in Illinois includes a section on the history of settlement written by a historian, on "Population and other socio-economic factors" written by a sociologist, and on "Problems of Education" written by a professor of education.¹⁷

A report on social life and level of living of 458 farm families located on a soil erosion control demonstration project is the result of a field investigation.¹⁸ The effect of age, income, stage in the life cycle of the family, and tenure status upon social activities is reviewed and appraised. Expenditures for food and clothing, and presence of certain housing facilities and reading material in the home indicate the level of living of the families.

The size and condition of farm buildings as indicated from outside appearance were used as a basis for classifying land in 11 New York counties. Poor dwellings were found on poor land, good dwellings on good land. Other correlatives of land use classes and their relations to roads, electricity, and reforestation are presented in an extension bulletin.¹⁹

RURAL ORGANIZATION AND AGENCIES

The rôle of organization, language, and certain customs of foreign settlers in the communities they and others established in South Dakota²⁰ indicates the process and progress of assimilation. The study places primary emphasis upon the churches, and in some instances lodges, as well as the mode and distribution of settlement of Scandinavian, Bohemian, and German-Russian groups. Census data, church, and other organization records and publications, as well as special historical documents, constitute the source material for the report. State maps indicating the county distribution of foreign stock and certain organizations are included.

"Social Organizations and Agencies in North Dakota—A Study of Trends,

¹⁶ Harry C. Woodworth, Max F. Abell, and John C. Holmes, "Land Utilization in New Hampshire," New Hampshire Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin* 298, Durham, June, 1937 (pp. 70).

¹⁷ *Physical, Economic, and Social Aspects of the Valley of the Kaskaskia River, State of Illinois*, The University of Illinois, The State Surveys, and certain State Departments, Urbana, June, 1937 (mimeographed, pp. 298).

¹⁸ H. J. Bonser, "Social Life in the Crooked Creek Area," Pennsylvania Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin* 345, Washington, May, 1937 (pp. 29).

¹⁹ T. E. LaMont, "Land Utilization and Classification in New York and Its Relation to Roads, Electricity, and Reforestation," *Cornell Extension Bulletin No. 372*, Ithaca, New York, March, 1937 (pp. 59).

²⁰ John P. Johansen, "Immigrant Settlements and Social Organization in South Dakota," South Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin* 313, Brookings, June 1937 (pp. 63).

1926 to 1936"²¹ is based upon reports of the Federal Census, publications of various departments of the state, and interviews and correspondence with state and other officers of social agencies. Included in the investigation are the following: Educational agencies involving schools, agricultural extension service and experiment stations, libraries, fairs, and newspapers; health agencies including physicians, dentists, hospitals, and public health nurses; religious agencies including churches, Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., and W. C. T. U.; social and recreational agencies including fraternal orders, war veterans' organizations, farmers' organizations, men's and women's clubs, youth organizations, musical organizations, community clubs, and parent-teacher associations; and commercial recreational agencies including pool halls, beer parlors, public dance halls, and motion picture houses.

Trends in the number and distribution of these agencies during the period 1926-36 are recorded. Their number and distribution according to geographical location and size of community are designated. Indication of their stability is registered in their "birth" and "death" rates. Attention is given to their adjustment to population density and changes.

The state's 13 per cent decrease in number of children nine years of age and under, from 1920 to 1930, resulted in a decrease in number of elementary schools and their enrollment. Such population changes will later affect other organizations such as the high schools, the number and enrollment of which are still increasing. Correlation coefficients indicate that the denser the population of a county the less the number of social agencies per 1,000 inhabitants. On the basis of number of persons to be served, sparsely settled counties might be considered as "over-organized." However, because of the distance factor they are really "under-organized."

There is a trend toward the location of churches and social and recreational agencies for adults in the larger population centers of the state.

A North Carolina Experiment Station bulletin²² describes two local farmers' co-operatives. The study includes an analysis of efficiency based upon 14 criteria. Patrons were interviewed to ascertain their general characteristics and knowledge concerning the organization and its management, and to determine attitudes relative to policies.

Only about 1,700 of 3,073 rural counties had any general hospital operated by governmental, voluntary, or profit agencies in 1934. Thus 1,300 counties had no hospitals. Allowing two beds per 1,000 population, and a distance of 50 miles from the hospital center there was a need for 22,000 new hospital beds for the country in 1934. However, before a rural community or county attempts to build a hospital it should know many facts. A United States Department of

²¹ Donald G. Hay, "Social Organizations and Agencies in North Dakota, A Study of Trends, 1926 to 1936," North Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 288*, Fargo, July, 1937 (pp. 90).

²² S. L. Clement, "The Organization, Practices, and Membership Participation of Two North Carolina Farm Co-operatives," North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 311*, Raleigh, July, 1937 (pp. 105).

Agriculture bulletin²³ prepared under the direction of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life sets forth many of these facts, including estimates of building and operating costs, suggestions concerning size, selecting a building site, plan, organization and administration, floor and elevation. Plans for small hospitals and facts concerning rural hospitals in operation are included.

FARM LABOR

Arizona's seasonal needs for farm labor on irrigated farms are extremely unevenly distributed. "If any 1,000 man days are divided throughout the year as used from month to month, there are only 29 man days used during February, the lowest employment month, as contrasted with 183 man days used during November, the month of highest employment." The seasonal needs of Arizona for farm labor on irrigated farms are less evenly distributed throughout the year than are those for farm laborers in California, and more evenly distributed than are those for farm laborers in Yakima Valley, Washington. These and other findings presented in a brief report²⁴ are largely the results of field studies.

A series of bulletins dealing with the social and economic conditions of farm laborers in 11 counties has been released.²⁵ Data concerning the earnings, social status, length of employment, method of securing employment, employment of various members of the family, family composition, age, race, and sex of farm laborers are included. Reports are available for the following counties: Placer County, California; Archuleta County, Colorado; Livingston County, Illinois; Hamilton County, Iowa; Pawnee County, Kansas; Todd County, Kentucky; Concordia Parish, Louisiana; Lac qui Parle County, Minnesota; Wayne County, Pennsylvania; Fentress County, Tennessee; and Karnes County, Texas.

The average cost of living of 176 Spanish-speaking households of sugar beet farm laborers on relief in Weld County, Colorado, was \$456. The average cash income of 192 relief cases was \$436, or \$78 per person. Dwellings had an average of two and a half persons per room. One-fourth of the children, aged 6 to 15 inclusive, had no school attendance record during 1935-36. These and other facts indicate the low material level of living of the cases which averaged 5.6 persons. The study²⁶ is based on field interviews and relief records of approximately one-fourth of the Spanish-speaking cases, the heads of which were

²³ Blanche Halbert, "Hospitals for Rural Communities," Bureau of Agricultural Economics and the Farm Security Administration, United States Department of Agriculture, *Farmers Bulletin No. 1792*, Washington (pp. 41).

²⁴ E. D. Tetreau, *Seasonal Labor on Arizona Irrigated Farms*, Tucson, Arizona, June, 1937 (mimeographed, pp. 12).

²⁵ Tom Vasey and Josiah C. Folsom, "Survey of Agricultural Labor Conditions in Placer County, California," United States Department of Agriculture, The Farm Security Administration, and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics co-operating, Washington, D. C., October, 1937 (mimeographed, pp. 14).

The other 10 publications of the series have similar designations with the exception of the counties, states, and dates of publication.

²⁶ Olaf F. Larson, "Beet Workers on Relief in Weld County, Colorado," Colorado Agricultural Experiment Station and Division of Social Research, Federal Works Progress Administration, *Research Bulletin 4*, Fort Collins, May, 1937 (mimeographed, pp. 31).

beet workers on relief in Weld County. This county grew 41 per cent of Colorado's sugar beet acreage in 1935.

LAND TENURE

A report entitled "Tenure of New Agricultural Holdings in Several European Countries"²⁷ classifies the types of tenure or property rights of new settlers in England (and Wales), Scotland, Germany, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, as falling into three categories: ownership, tenancy, and mixed-tenure arrangements. The various tenure policies are described and their advantages and disadvantages given. ". . . practically all the English settlers have preferred to be settled as tenants of the county councils, that is, as public tenants.

"In Scotland, the majority of the new holdings have been established on publicly owned land and are operated under public mixed tenure. In Germany, most of the settlers have been placed on the land under restricted ownership of the rental holding type. In Denmark, mixed tenure seems to gain more and more adherents.

"From the available evidence, it appears that in many land settlement schemes restricted tenures have met with considerable success in warding off such dangers as inefficient use or abuse of the land, the diversion of the land to nonagricultural purposes, undesirable subdivision or enlargement, overburdening with indebtedness, speculation, and other unwanted developments."

"Farm Tenancy in the United States, 1918-1936"²⁸ is a bibliography prepared by the Library of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture. The publication has three main sections. "The first contains references of a general nature; the second, references arranged by geographical divisions of the United States; and the third, references arranged by states. The third section is followed by a short list of additional references added after the bibliography was completed. An author and subject index is appended." In all, 1,070 references are listed. The descriptions of the scope of the separate publications add to the usefulness of the publication.

PART-TIME FARMING

Part-time farming does not always filter off the bitterness of depression. A Connecticut Experiment Station bulletin²⁹ indicates as much. Analysis of 968 records taken from all but one per cent of the households in Montville, Connecticut, led to this conclusion. The study, made in 1935, compares families

²⁷ Erich Kraemer, "Tenure of New Agricultural Holdings in Several European Countries," United States Department of Agriculture, The Farm Security Administration and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics co-operating, *Social Research Report No. 2*, Washington, September, 1937 (mimeographed, pp. 92).

²⁸ "Farm Tenancy in the United States, 1918-1936," compiled by Louise O. Bercaw, under the direction of Mary G. Lacy, Librarian, United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, *Agricultural Economics Bibliography No. 70*, Washington, June, 1937 (mimeographed, pp. 306).

²⁹ Nathan L. Whetten and Walter C. McKain, Jr., "A Sociological Analysis of Relief and Non-Relief Families in a Rural Connecticut Town," Storrs Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin 219*, Storrs, Connecticut, July, 1937 (pp. 79).

receiving relief with families not receiving relief during the five-year period 1930 to 1934. Also the report reveals causes of Montville's relatively high relief rate. Lack of activity of the industries in the cities could scarcely account for the high relief rate nor could recent migration into the town. The relief policy of the towns as well as the state was responsible in part for the high relief rate.

SELECTING FAMILIES FOR RESETTLEMENT

In "An Analysis of Methods and Criteria Used in Selecting Families for Colonization Projects,"³⁰ the experience of many agencies is revealed. Available capital, technical knowledge of agriculture which was chiefly gained through experience, and a size and age-sex composition of the family which is correctly adjusted to the size and type of farm are practical considerations essential for success in farming. Also a favorable attitude toward farm life including "a wish to farm and a willingness to sacrifice comforts and other values when necessary," religiosity or loyalty to an idealistic group if this tends to sanctify agricultural virtues, community co-operative ability, character, stability and a sense of responsibility, good health and stamina of the family members, and a co-operative and harmonious family life are important. A rudimentary education, to the extent that additional education is in harmony with a favorable attitude toward farm life, as well as intelligence, alertness, resourcefulness, and judgment, is essential. Each of these qualifications is treated separately and its relative importance appraised.

Methods of selection employed by the Bureau of Reclamation, Division of Subsistence Homesteads, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, and the Resettlement Administration (now the Farm Security Administration) are discussed.

RURAL YOUTH

Organizations sponsored by the church were attended by a greater number of rural youth in Missouri than any other organizations. Out of 113 recreational activities now engaged in, reading, attending movies and shows, and going to parties were found to be most popular. The young people would most prefer to learn to play golf, dance, and play the piano. Approximately 4 out of 10 who were to be graduated from high school planned to continue their formal education. Only one-fifth of the farm boys intended to continue farming after high school graduation. Occupations preferred by most boys were farming, aviation, and engineering. Those preferred by girls were stenography, teaching, nursing, and beauty culture.

These are some of the findings of a study³¹ of 2,297 young people, aged 16 to 24, living on farms and places less than 5,000 population in 12 counties in

³⁰ John Holt, "An Analysis of Methods and Criteria Used in Selecting Families for Colonization Projects," Farm Security Administration and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture, *Social Research Report No. 1*, Washington, September, 1937 (mimeographed, pp. 54).

³¹ E. L. Morgan and Melvin W. Sneed, "The Activities of Rural Young People in Missouri, A Survey of 2,297 Young People Attending High School," Missouri Agricultural Experiment Station, *Research Bulletin 269*, Columbia, November, 1937 (pp. 68).

Missouri. All senior high schools in the counties were visited for the purpose of administering schedules to pupils. Comparisons are made for males and females in both farm and nonfarm situations, with respect to previous residence, length of residence in the present community, family living conveniences, home responsibilities, work and earnings outside the home, organizational affiliations and participation, leadership responsibilities in these organizations, extent of the interest of young people in existing community organizations, and leisure time activities, desires, and needs. Certain comparisons were made with a similar Missouri study made 10 years earlier.

"An Appraisal of Rural Sociology, Its Accomplishments and Its Tasks" constitutes a special issue of *Farm Population and Rural Life Activities*.³² The document attempts to answer the question: What has research in rural sociology accomplished from a scientific and an extension point of view? A classification of current research projects, an appraisal of future needs and prospects, and an outline of the content of present-day rural sociology is included.

In addition, the following bulletins have been received:

Ohio State Planning Board, *Future Population of the State of Ohio*, Estimates of the State of Ohio and Its Counties, Its Eight Metropolitan Districts, and Its Cities of 25,000 or more Inhabitants, up to 1960. Columbus, Ohio, January, 1937.

William Peterson, "Federal Irrigation Reclamation in Relationship to Agricultural Policy," Utah Extension Service, *New Series Circular No. 92*, Logan, March, 1937.

Maynard Calvin Conner and William E. King, "An Economic and Social Survey of Patrick County," *University of Virginia Record Extension Series Vol. XXI, No. 6*, University of Virginia, January, 1937.

James Lawrence and Basil Williams, "An Economic and Social Survey of Westmoreland County," *University of Virginia Record Extension Series Vol. XXI, No. 4*, University of Virginia.

The Washington County Farm Bureau, *Building Farm Life*, Vermont Agricultural Extension Service, Montpelier, October, 1936.

Public Assistance Monthly Statistics for the United States, Vol. II, No. 5, Social Security Board, Washington, May, 1937 (pp. 8).

Normal J. Wall, "Federal Credit for Agricultural Co-operative Associations in the United States," Division of Agricultural Co-operation, Pan American Union, *Series on Co-operatives No. 5*, Washington, March, 1937 (mimeographed, pp. 36).

Consumers' Co-operative Societies, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, United States Department of Commerce, Washington, September, 1936 (mimeographed, pp. 68).

"Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Virginia Social Science

³² "An Appraisal of Rural Sociology, Its Accomplishments and Its Tasks," Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture, *Farm Population and Rural Life Activities*, Vol. XII, No. 1, Washington, January 1, 1938 (mimeographed, pp. 32).

- Association Held at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and Radford State Teachers' College, May 7 and 8, 1937," *Bulletin of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute*, Vol. XXX, No. 8, Blacksburg, June, 1937 (pp. 68).
- Roger J. Bounds, *A Bibliography on the Reorganization and Consolidation of Local Governments*, Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America, Washington, D. C., 1936 (mimeographed, pp. 16).
- Paul A. Eke and Harold F. Brown, "Influence of Tenancy on Types of Farming," Idaho Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin* 222, Moscow, June, 1937 (mimeographed, pp. 29).
- Gladys L. Palmer and Katherine D. Wood, "Urban Workers on Relief," Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, *Research Monograph IV*, Washington, 1936 (pp. 189).
- The Preparation of Statistical Tables, A Handbook*, United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Washington, December, 1937 (mimeographed, pp. 32).
- W. R. Gordon and B. E. Gilbert, "Recreation and the Use of Land in Washington County," Rhode Island Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin* No. 258, Kingston, May, 1937 (pp. 83).
- "L'Oeuvre d'Education Rural—Du Gouvernement du President Vincent," Service National de la Production Agricole et de L'Enseignement Rural, *Bulletin Number* 8, 1936 (pp. 32).
- E. H. Reed and J. I. Falconer, "The Effect of Land Use and Management on Erosion," Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin* 585, Wooster, July, 1937 (pp. 19).
- "Local Government in New Jersey," Princeton Local Government Survey, *Local Government Bulletin* No. 3, Princeton, New Jersey, 1936 (pp. 15).
- J. H. Sitterley and J. I. Falconer, "The Farm Business from 1929 to 1935 on One Hundred Forty-one Ohio Farms," Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin* 587, Wooster, Ohio, October, 1937 (pp. 22).
- Rt. Rev. John A. Ryan, *The Message of the Encyclicals for America Today*, Social Action Department, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, D. C., May, 1936 (pp. 12).
- Rev. Edgar Schmiedeler, *For the Improvement of Rural Life*, Rural Life Bureau, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, D. C., October, 1935 (pp. 20).
- The Encyclicals and Agriculture*, Rural Life Bureau, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, D. C., May, 1936 (pp. 10).

Book Reviews

Carle C. Zimmerman, Editor

The Ejido: Mexico's Way Out. By Eyler N. Simpson. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937. Pp. xxi, 849. \$5.00.

This book is an important landmark for students of rural Mexico, and deals with a subject which should be of interest to rural sociologists in general. It is the most important work which has appeared in this field since McBride's *Land Systems of Mexico*. The book is based on the research and personal experience of the author, who spent some eight years in Mexico and was a representative of the Institute of World Affairs. It contains a foreword by Lic. Ramón Beteta, *Director General de Estadística Nacional* of Mexico.

The word *ejido* is derived from the Latin *exire, exitum*—"to go out," "the way out." As originally used in Spain the term was applied to uncultivated lands held collectively, and located on the outskirts (on the way out) of agrarian communities. In Mexico at the present time the word is used to refer to all types of lands which have been restored or granted to agricultural communities, under the land reform initiated in 1915. By extension the word is also used to designate the communities possessing such lands (p. viii).

As implied in the title, the book is hung on the thesis that the *ejido*, modified according to specifications drawn up by the author, is Mexico's way out. The work is divided into three parts: "The Origins of the Ejido," "The Ejido in Being—Problems and Progress," and "The Future of the Ejido." In the first part, consisting of 127 pages, the author traces much of the agrarian history of Mexico in order to show the origin and the development of the modern *ejido*. The prototype of the *ejido* was found among the more settled of the ancient Mexicans in preconquest days. The "tribe" was the largest political and social unit and was made up of a number of kinship groups known as *calpulli* (clans). The *calpulli* usually consisted of several households, and a village ordinarily contained several *calpulli*. The village lands (*al tepetalli*) were held in common, and each kinship group was assigned a definite part for its use. The agricultural land was in turn distributed by the kinship group among the various heads of families. "Usufruct was transmissible from father to son, and boundaries were jealously guarded, but apparently there was no sense of private individual ownership in the Roman sense of *uti, frui, abuti*. That individual private property did not exist either in theory or in deed is shown by the facts: (a) that if a given plot was not cultivated for two successive years it was subject to forfeiture; (b) that lots could not be permanently transferred to members of another *calpulli* (although they could be rented on shares under certain conditions); and

(c) that if a family became extinct or moved away, its tract reverted to the clan and was either reassigned or held in reserve for future needs" (pp. 4-5).

The author points out that some of the traditions and customs brought over by the Spaniards served to strengthen the institution of the landholding village, while other practices tended to encourage the private ownership of land. The latter institution developed along feudal lines into the *hacienda* system. During succeeding centuries a struggle for ownership and control of land took place between the landholding village, or *ejido*, and the *hacienda*, with the latter gradually acquiring a strangling hold until near the end of the *Díaz* régime, when the conflict culminated in the Mexican revolution. The author stresses the fact that agrarian reform was the principal reason for the revolution, and that the *ejido* gradually "emerged at the focus and most important objective of the reform." Nevertheless, by the year 1933 serious doubts had crept in, concerning both the accomplishments and the advisability of continuing with the *ejido* program, and the revolutionary leaders had divided into two factions—one conservative, the other liberal. The author skilfully traces through the entanglement of laws relating to the *ejido* and shows to what extent they were translated into action.

Part II is concerned with the amount of land distributed and the various problems encountered. Two of the difficulties encountered are the smallness of the holdings and the absence of water. Other problems described are the financing of grants to villages, economic and social education, political organization and social control, and credit and markets.

Part III contains the author's specifications for modifying the *ejido* and his arguments supporting the thesis that the *ejido* is the way out.

One of the most valuable features of the work is the presence of six case studies of *ejido* villages illustrating the various problems encountered. An appendix is included containing 225 pages. In this are found 93 statistical tables, a check list of laws and executive orders relating to the reform, and other related data.

The prescriptions of the author include the extension of the *ejido* system to all of the agricultural land in Mexico. "Eventually all agricultural real property in Mexico, except such areas as the federal government may, for the good of the whole country, see fit to hold in trust as national forests, parks, and agricultural reserves, must be held collectively and be exploited co-operatively by agrarian communities" (p. 512). This conclusion will appear extreme and somewhat *Utopian* in character to many, especially in view of the author's excellent discussion of the difficulties and obstacles which the *ejido* program has thus far encountered, such as wide variations in climatic and topographical conditions, smallness of the holdings, and socio-political obstacles. On page 512 the author's reasoning appears to imply that the revolutionary character of the recommendations is in itself partial justification for carrying them out. On that page he says: ". . . any and all attempts to curtail the *ejido* program or to distort the collectivistic conception of the *ejido* cannot be regarded otherwise than as efforts to weaken and eventually and inevitably to destroy the only truly revolutionary thing the Mexican agrarian movement has produced. For it should be obvious

that there is nothing revolutionary about an undertaking merely to redistribute landholdings."

At times the enthusiasm of the author for the *ejido* program leads him to make rather sweeping and dogmatic statements which could stand considerable qualification. Thus in speaking of industrialization of Mexico he says on page 555: "There is *nothing under the sun* which can prevent this process from continuing"; on page 557 he says: "—these are some of the techniques and procedures of industrialism of which Mexico *can and must* take advantage"; and on page 558: "The process of industrialism *can and must* be submitted to social control." (Italics are the reviewer's.)

Although some will question the soundness of some of the recommendations of the author, all will recognize the valuable contribution which he has made relative to the understanding of the Mexican revolution and the agrarian developments in Mexico.

Connecticut State College

N. L. WHETTEN

Government in Rural America. By Lane W. Lancaster. New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1937. Pp. xv, 416. \$2.85.

Many, if not most, of the older books on rural government were projected mainly from the standpoint of the legal foundations and the formal structure of those units of government most immediately concerned with rural localities. Lancaster takes a more realistic approach in trying to construct a careful picture of government in rural areas as service institutions, performing more or less effectively a wide variety of functions. His reason for this treatment appears in the preface, "Men are indeed ingenious in devising laws; they are often ever more ingenious in ignoring them. What I have tried to keep steadily in mind is the fact that government on the local level is an affair of personal prejudices, ambitions, hopes, and aspirations of real people who are immersed for the most in other matters, and who give but spasmodic and not always well-informed attention to the business of governing themselves."

Approximately the first half of the book is given over to a discussion of the framework of existing units of rural local government in their historic backgrounds and present-day forms, and the important implications involved in our system of decentralized administration of state-determined functions in the hands of locally-determined personnel. State-local relationships are also considered in some detail. The reader cannot fail to be impressed by the dismal picture of ineffective, unco-ordinated, and decentralized activities that are described. The inflexibility of governmental forms and procedures in the face of rapid and profound changes in socio-economic conditions is well brought out.

The author believes that a decided increase in centralized bureaucracy is inevitable, as rural (and also urban) societies become more complex and more insistent in their demands that governments assume added functions, and expand existing ones. The way to avoid the evils that arise when bureaucracy becomes an end in itself (an ever present temptation to the bureaucrats themselves) is to

democratize more completely our educational facilities, and to encourage increased activity in governmental affairs on the part of civic organizations. However, staunch advocates of decentralization who read this volume are not likely to be won over to the idea of centralization by the author's treatment of the subject.

The next half dozen chapters take up a series of "service activities" commonly performed by government for rural areas including police, justice, roads, education, welfare, and health. Much of the content of these chapters reads like a textbook on rural life problems, though the major emphasis is placed upon the rôle of governments in meeting such problems. The shortcomings of the existing governmental machinery are pointed out. In going over this material, one gets the impression that the time-honored forms and methods cannot be modernized with any marked success. Likewise, because of the traditional conservatism of rural people, Lancaster does not expect rapid or sweeping changes. Some progress may be made through extensions of state and Federal grants-in-aid to local areas, provided that areas accepting such aid are required to accept more supervision from state or Federal administrators. Yet in many instances, isn't this akin to taking a narcotic to ease pain, instead of trying to discover and remove its causes?

In the closing chapter, entitled "The Reorganization of Local Government" appear the author's suggestions for getting us out of our present dilemma. Among the specific changes recommended are the abolition of township governments and assigning the present functions to larger units; consolidating counties here and there where economically advantageous and otherwise desirable; transferring the following functions from local governments to the state: roads, public health, relief and welfare, schools, tax assessment, election administration, judicial administration, and crime control; and retaining in the counties such functions as recording legal documents, parks, forests, community halls, libraries, playgrounds, and rural zoning activities. The county manager plan, inter-area co-operation in providing certain facilities and services for the combined areas, and a great reduction in the number of counties through large-scale consolidation are considered to be of less merit than the preceding series of changes.

In the mind of this reviewer, Lancaster's book is significant in that it evidences a closer integration of political science, economics, sociology, and psychology, dealing realistically with human problems that somehow refuse to remain long boxed up in the traditional "pigeon holes," built by the enthusiasts of classification and specialization.

University of Maryland

T. B. MANNY

Of the Earth Earthy: How Our Fathers Dwelt Upon and Wooed the Earth. By Marion Nicholl Rawson. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1937. Pp. 414. \$5.00.

Voices from the Fields: A Book of Country Songs by Farming People. Edited by Russell Lord. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1937. Pp. xxiii, 166. \$2.00.

The biological and cultural life of man is rooted in the soil. It is also a com-

monplace that cities are dependent upon the country for population and raw materials, that they are largely parasitic exploiters of rural society. It is not so obvious that modern technology and art are also rooted in the soil. These two books are source materials supporting this thesis.

Mrs. Rawson shows how the foundations of the machine age were laid by countless rural workmen striving to win economic advantage from the reluctant earth. She does not draw this inference but intelligent readers will. She is primarily an antiquarian, but she has quarried much information essential for understanding our culture. Her delightful prose and hundred sixty line-drawings tell a fascinating story of how our ancestors, by common sense, ingenuity and hard work, laid the foundations without which science could not have erected our imposing industrial superstructure. The use of the six mechanical and seven manipulative principles, (leeching, burning, boiling, distilling, drying, baking, and grinding) all products of common sense, are still fundamental in science. She shows how these were applied in dealing with water, minerals, woods, fibers and plants, lime, stone, paint, ships, iron working, salt, brewing, and so on, for thirty-two vivid chapters.

The development of these skills and the associated artifacts for over two hundred and fifty years goes far to explain our present technological virtuosity. We became machine-minded because we had been tool-handed for centuries. Perhaps it also explains why a Soviet factory built by American engineers to produce 15,000 tractors a year succeeds in turning out only a few thousands, most of which are defective. It takes time to produce a technological culture. The Soviets may hasten the process by "purgation," education, and propaganda, but there is no real substitute for the slow, organic growth which Mrs. Rawson has so well described.

Mr. Lord's book offers evidence that art, or poetry at least, is also rooted in the soil. Odum and associates have also shown this for poetry, prose, and music. Farm papers have always printed the "literary efforts" of their readers. Most of them have printed rural poetry. In 1931, *Country Home* offered a weekly prize for the best poem by anyone who had never before submitted verse to an editor. Since then, Mr. Lord has read over 20,000 contributions. This book contains about a hundred and fifty of these.

Many are of undoubted poetic merit; some of the authors are real minor poets by anybody's standards; they are plain, simple, country people who love the earth so deeply and the farmer's life so well that "they cannot choose but sing." The clichés of the sophisticated are often expressions of true poetic feeling among simple people. I know many farmers who have a "strain of inarticulate poetry" in them. The almost universal custom of "looking over the farm" on Sundays and holidays is as much "poetic" as economic, although most farmers would never think of giving any but the latter reason; early rising is as often esthetic as economic; there is a kind of artistry in the "itch to get at" the plowing and reaping, in the love of well-turned furrows and excellently-built stacks. It is a kind of overt, manual creativeness very close to poetry. It is certainly part of the resentment at crop limitation and the deep sense of injustice when "the more you

raise the less you make." "Voices from the Fields" is full of evidence that these sentiments are real; they spring from the earth-source of all life—they are "of the earth earthy."

So it is not accidental that creative men in all fields are never far removed in space or time from the fertile fields of Mother Earth, source of our life and sustainer of our culture. To her, all creative men must frequently return to replenish their dwindling powers. Any culture too far removed from the soil sooner or later becomes febrile, superficial, and decadent.

Miami University

READ BAIN

Social and Cultural Dynamics, Volume One: Fluctuations of Forms of Art (Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, Music, Literature, and Criticism). By Pitirim A. Sorokin. New York: American Book Company, 1937. Pp. xxi, 745. \$6.00.

The first volume of Sorokin's *magnum opus* opens with a theoretical introduction of 191 pages, which dwarfs even the "methodological note" of the *Polish Peasant* or the "Appendix" of Pareto's *Traité général*. Here the author clears the way by mowing down the theories or whole regiments of scholars with the same machine-gun criticism that marked his *Contemporary Sociological Theories*. He then advances his own ideas, which are somewhat as follows: "All the . . . interrelations of . . . culture can be reduced to four basic types: (1) Spatial or Mechanical Adjacency . . .; (2) Association Due to an External Factor; (3) Causal or Functional Integration; (4) Internal or Logico-meaningful Unity." The last he thinks should be studied by means of the "logico-meaningful" method. The "essence" of this, he says, "is . . . in the finding of the central principle . . . which permeates all the components, . . . and in this way makes cosmos of a chaos of unintegrated fragments." Thereupon he classifies culture "mentalities" into four primary systems, Ideational, Sensate, Idealistic, and Mixed. The Ideational mentality emphasizes the spiritual, the Sensate, the fleshy. Out of the first three types emerge the logically-integrated subtypes, Ascetic Ideational, Active Sensate ("Epicureans"), Active Ideational, Idealistic, Passive Sensate, Cynical Sensate, and Pseudo-Ideational. Their resemblance to W. I. Thomas' moribund personality formulas, the "Philistine," the "Bohemian," and the "Creative Man" is readily noticed.

Armed with these methodological concepts, the author proceeds with all the valor of an intellectual Don Quixote to attack anew that vast and perennial question of the philosophers of history, Does history repeat itself? Denying any perpetual trends or identical cycles, he maintains the existence of "variably recurrent patterns," and tries to demonstrate their presence in the field of art, chiefly in Western Europe. In great detail for painting and sculpture, more briefly for architecture, music, and literature, he finds recurrent waves of Ideational, Sensate, and Idealistic types over a period of some twenty-five centuries; waves, moreover, which have been approximately synchronous among these several branches of art. He therefore reaches the conclusion that "all the arts of the

culture studied have been integrated logically and causally to a high degree; that all the fine arts of these cultures are part of one living unity, the manifestation of one system; and that therefore when this culture begins to undergo the process of transformation, they all naturally follow the same path and change in the same direction."

In the stupendous and very difficult task undertaken in this work, which was largely financed by the Harvard Committee for Research in the Social Sciences, Sorokin has had the services of many assistants. The claims which are made for the results are in keeping with the magnitude of the project, and deserve a critical evaluation.

The logico-meaningful method is recommended and demonstrated as a technique for the understanding of logically or "meaningfully" integrated cultures, but it is not clear that the author claims for it any value apart from this specific problem: "Logico-meaningful unities can be looked for only in the field of . . . human culture." He holds that a culture trait is logically integrated if it can be shown to be logically consistent with some major premise, or if it is felt to be internally consistent. His argument that what is felt to be consistent does not depend a great deal on chance association, however, is not convincing. Many readers will continue to regard feeling alone as a very unreliable basis for judging the consistency of traits, especially in an alien culture. In regard to his more formal "logical" criterion this objection does not hold. Apparently, in using the logico-meaningful method, one posits an hypothesis that the mentality of a culture is logically integrated in accordance with, say, the Sensate premise, and then examines a number of traits to see if they confirm the assumptions. The value of such a procedure evidently depends on the extent to which culture is logically integrated, on how reliably logical integration can be determined, and on the usefulness of the fact that certain traits are integrated with respect to a given premise.

On the first point no estimate is, or probably could be, furnished for any culture; but the study of art fluctuations discovers a surprising ramification of logical integration in a number of cultures.

Regarding the second point, since the logical method by definition uses subjective criteria, we should expect it to encounter well-known difficulties. That it does so soon appears. In applying the technique to the problem of art trends on a grand scale, the author labels the forms of art in various cultures and ages as Ideational, Sensate, Idealistic, and the like, so that the method reduces to classification. Yet the reviewer found it hard to isolate any logical principle or group of principles that for him satisfactorily differentiated these highly abstract concepts. There seemed to be in the Sensate idea, for illustration, a tangle of loosely defined criteria such as realism, sensuousness, content, style, and so on. The situation with which Sorokin had to deal can be somewhat appreciated if the reader will consider how he would like the task of sorting one hundred average citizens into the personality classes Ascetic Ideational, Active Sensate, Active Ideational, Idealistic, Passive Sensate, Cynical Sensate, and Pseudo-Ideational, especially if his reputation depended on classifying them as the author might! Fortunately

for the present study, in the case of Italian art, a rough correspondence was found between two independent samples, and, as Sorokin points out, "the materials in the different fields of culture exhibit a notable agreement with one another."

Perhaps another symptom of the same sort of difficulty is the reviewer's feeling that the author's interpretations are sometimes no more "logical" than their opposites. Does an increase in the percentage of female portraits indicate a growing Sensate mentality, or a changing status of women which makes them less exclusively sex objects than formerly? Why is a church with a "gorgeous" interior but a plain exterior Ideational, while one with a gorgeous exterior is Sensate? Is exaggerated femininity more "Visual" than exaggerated masculinity ("athleteism")? On such points, how many independent investigators would agree?

Relative to the value of a discovery that certain traits are logically integrated, much appears to depend on the extent to which a trait is determined by a logical premise. In the author's demonstration, most of the cultures examined were so well known that it would be impossible to say how much circular reasoning was unintentionally involved. It is highly probable that a trait never derives from a logical premise alone, but is the product of many factors, so that very different traits flow from similar premises in different cultures and times. For these reasons, one would not expect a knowledge of logical integration to have much predictive value. By definition, apparently, logical integration does not imply an understanding of causes or processes. From this point of view, it is a preliminary approach. As such, its distinctive value seems to lie in the fact that it may succeed in combining into a *Gestalt* some of the recalcitrant traits of a culture that resist causal integration, and thereby contribute to mental economy and order. That a logical or other classification of culture traits may be useful for some specific purpose is shown by Sorokin's investigation of art changes. The premise must of course be chosen to suit the purpose, as in any classification.

Quite aside from any considerations of method, the part that logic plays in the development of a culture is of course interesting and important.

After classifying into his categories a number of cultures and their fine arts, Sorokin finds that "the general mentality and the style of art" are "observably integrated." A reader would be justified, however, in asking whether the indices which are used to judge the "mentality" of a culture are always representative of the whole culture, or whether such elements as religious and philosophical writings are given too much weight. Large parts of a society may be inarticulate or otherwise leave little trace of their mentality. Especially in the case of ancient civilizations is there likelihood that the surviving fragments may be atypical.

The author well summarizes the dangers that beset such a study as his, if made on a qualitative basis. It is doubtful, however, to what extent some of these objections are removed by the crude quantitative methods which he is able to employ. For example, the presence of association between tendencies in art is apparently decided by a general similarity or lack of similarity in the appearance of a group of rough trend lines. Since it is as likely that two lines will both rise or both fall over a period as that one will rise and the other fall, chance can

readily account for broad resemblances of this kind. Interpretation is further complicated by the fact that the several lines represent phenomena that have variously overlapping definitions. Luckily, the author's general knowledge of the subject is some safeguard here.

It is regrettable that the study was not able to consider more adequately the degree to which the Sensate and Ideational art forms are repeated. Obviously, any phenomenon may be regarded as recurrent if it is defined broadly enough. The reviewer does not feel that any major conclusions are invalidated on this account, but it is certain that some of the author's categories are so wide that they they may sometimes conceal as much as they reveal.

Readers will be impressed by Sorokin's personal conviction that the same cycles of art that have been observed in the past will continue indefinitely in the future. In objection, it may be asked, among other things, what the effect would be if belief in a life after death were permanently removed from a culture by advancing knowledge. The author does not rest his belief on any theoretical necessity.

The chief impression which this work is apt to leave on most readers is that of its gigantic scope. Hundreds of difficult questions are asked and answered in some way. When the obstacles that beset the path of careful researchers, who try to answer a single limited question in a trustworthy way, are recalled, one is amazed by the author's willingness to undertake such a project in the spirit of scientific research. As a philosophical adventure it is easily understandable. Actually, this volume is a queer hybrid of the two points of view. One wonders if the main thesis, that there are fluctuations in art, could not have been more convincingly established if a circumscribed and better controlled study had been made of the art of one culture, say that of Italy. Sorokin's idea, however, was different, and seems to be well expressed by a Latin phrase appearing somewhere in the book: "Ut aliae bonae res, ita bonus liber melior est quisque, quo major," which he translates, "The bigger the better!"

University of Wisconsin

THOMAS C. MCCORMICK

A Puritan Outpost. By Herbert Collins Parsons. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937. Pp. xiii, 546. \$5.00.

Middletown in Transition. By Robert S. Lynd and Helen M. Lynd. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1937. Pp. xviii, 604. \$5.00.

The eminent social administrator who is author of *A Puritan Outpost*, an account of Northfield, Massachusetts, from 1672 to the present, has provided an object lesson. Community histories which are not sociologically oriented do not necessarily supply all the raw materials desired by the sociologist. There is no organized treatment of the class structure, the economic organization, adjustments to depression and new technologies, the informal controls of group pressure, the processes through which the intellectual élite emerge and other subjects of this sort. One basic change which is noted is the displacement of the original town population: 90 per cent are of New England ancestry in 1873 and 30 per cent in 1936. The author has more than fulfilled his chosen task of providing

a narrative account of this school town. As a background for sociological study of this area it cannot be ignored.

The data which the Lynds have assembled in their second study of Middletown are of primary importance for an understanding of its structure and functioning. This work bristles with astute insights into the day-to-day life of Middletown's citizenry in prosperity and depression. It represents a decided advance over the earlier volume. New sources of information have been tapped and earlier hypotheses have been checked. But theoretical analysis is still subordinated to facts about "Getting a Living," "Caring for the Unable," "Training the Young," and the like. A central, sociological conceptual scheme for unifying the observed facts is still needed. This is in part recognized by the Lynds themselves.

The remarks of residents, although they are not always taken at their face value, are seldom submitted to the type of analysis which has proved so fruitful in the hands of Pareto, Malinowski, Roethlisberger, and Dollard. Many of the comments are treated as instances of homely wisdom, as more or less accurate observations upon the immediate social scene. This is the technique of the reporter, and in this field the Lynds probably have no peer among sociologists. But conversations and comments which are treated in this fashion lose the essential advantage of the informal interview over the formal questionnaire. Undirected conversations afford clues to the emotional foci and supports of the social system. For the most part, they are not statements of fact, but expressions of sentiments.

This volume is certainly not devoid of interpretation. There is a careful examination of the conflicts arising from the demands of the immediate economic situation and the obstacles to adjustment which derive from a resistant social structure. The depression has led to relatively few changes in Middletown, although the materials suggest that this rigidity is cultural rather than social. The old cultural symbols persisted even when the associated behavior was modified. Middletown was "caring for the unable" in a fashion which, though niggardly, ran counter to most of its individualistic, self-made-man, self-maintained-man, credo.

The value of this study is not bounded by the authors' analysis. It has provided us with useful field observations, stressing the interrelatedness of institutions, which provide a valuable introduction to the sociology of community life.

Harvard University

ROBERT K. MERTON

Creative India. By Benoy Kumar Sarkar. Lahore, India: Motilal Banarsi Dass, 1937. Pp. x, 714. Rs. 15/-.

Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East, Vol. I, Champa. By R. C. Majumdar. Lahore, India: The Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, 1927. Pp. xxiv, 227. Rs. 15/-.

The Land-System in South India. By Kishori Mohan Gupta. Lahore, India: Motilal Banarsi Dass, 1933. Pp. ix, 339. Rs. 10/-.

The Wild Tribes in Indian History. By B. A. Saletore. Lahore, India: Motilal Banarsi Dass, 1935. Pp. xv, 163. Rs. 5/-.

The Indian Colony of Siam. By Phanindra Nath Bose. Lahore, India: Motilal Banarsi Dass, 1927. Pp. x, 170. Rs. 3/8/-.

The Stature and Weight of the Siamese. By Carle C. Zimmerman. Estratto dal Vol. II N. 3-4 (Giugno, 1937) Vol. XV of *Genus*. Organo Del Comitato Italiano per lo Studio Dei Problemi Della Popolazione. Pp. 1-31.

The rural sociologist finds his subject not only in his own country, but also in Asia where ancient rural civilizations give evidence now of blossoming forth again on their own, rather than continuing subdued to the West. These six monographs deal with India and Indo-China where most of our previous information has come from conquerors, western Indologists, poorly informed travelers, missionaries, and rice Christians. Now we are beginning to learn from the Oriental himself. The Punjab Oriental (Sanskrit) Series in which a number of these volumes are published, is performing a great service not only for the development of the Indian culture, but also in informing us about it. It is indeed refreshing to read about Asia from authors who know Hindu culture because it is their native milieu.

Creative India is a scholarly defense of Indian culture by that great Hindu encyclopedist B. K. Sarkar, a sociologist whose writings all of us should know better. The work has two themes, one, the answering of all misinterpreters of India from Müller to Mayo, and the other, the development of a cultural sociology based upon the long Hindu experience. The work certainly achieves the first objective and goes a long way towards the second. However, the sophisticated westerner feels that "Mother India" needs no defense against its misinterpreters, any more than Dixie needs defenses against the decadent school which infers that every cotton sharecropper is an incestuous moron. Consequently, we are more interested in the development of a cultural sociology based upon Hindu experience. No one is more competent to do this work than Sarkar who has already done a great deal in his previous writings. Such a sociology itself would be the finest tribute to "Mother India." The present work is at its very best when it launches forth upon Indian creations in institutions, political science and social philosophy.

Majumdar's story of Champa, a country between Cambodia and China which passed through its full national course between about 500 B.C. and A.D. 1500 is at once a history and a sociological analysis of the native culture. No clearer account of Hindu religion exists anywhere, in the opinion of the reviewer, than is to be found on pp. 167-214 of this work, where a native of India tells how his religion fitted into the changing philosophies of this struggling colony. The whole work as a unit is a story of what is known of a rural national culture from its origin until its decay.

Gupta's *Land-System in South India* is a Ph.D. thesis under L. D. Barnett of the University of London, later published by the Punjab Oriental Series. While ostensibly it deals only with the land system in South India from A.D. 800-1200, factually it deals with corporate organization, the grouped as well as the scattered homesteads, village types, castes and classes, land ownership, methods of taxation, and rural life generally. In one way or another every problem we deal with in American rural sociology is discussed for this civilization in its time and place.

They also had their problems of centralized versus local control of government, of taxation, relief, and parasitic villages (See especially p. 30 ff.).

Salatore's *Wild Tribes in Indian History* is a story of the formation groups which melted into much of what is now known as India. Sarkar might have included some of these data in his *Creative India* because it could be added from this that the poor aboriginal gets pretty rough treatment everywhere, when he "stands in the way" of an advancing people inspired by the creative urge. The work gives some of the experiences of the clash of cultures with southward migration into India, the development of the caste system, the "Indian" uprisings and the contributions of the primitives to the modern culture. Some of them, like our highlanders, drifted off to the mountains and have kept their cultures fairly intact to this day.

The last two works deal with Siam which between India and China is part one and part the other but fundamentally neither. Racially, the Siamese are Siamese (my study). Historically they have gained from India as well as from China. Bose's monograph emphasizes the Hindu side but he recognizes (p. x *et passim*) not only the Chinese but "something else," and that is where indigenous traits have made the Siamese a great people.

If one wants to know rural sociology he must know Asia and know it in a more profound sense than that of the ordinary interpreter. *The Sacred Books of the East* served their time and purpose. Now is the time for more oriental interpretations of the Orient.

Harvard University

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN

Recent Trends in Rural Planning. By William E. Cole and Hugh P. Crowe. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1937. Pp. xv, 579. \$3.50.

In a comprehensive summary style this work describes the recent changes underway in rural America, with passing reference to the experiences of other nations. Its sixteen chapters give the theories of the dominant school of rural planners, and the nature of the plans in terms of their aims regarding population, land use, settlement, relief, health, juvenile delinquency, crime, government, schools, churches, libraries, recreation, and electrification. However, as a serious attempt to formulate a philosophy of rural life for America, the study lends itself to some criticism. In a period of general societal confusion it is difficult for the student to objectify the norms of the culture in which he participates. And once having definitely accepted certain values, it is doubly hard to avoid picturing as "social problems" forces which are moving counter to what one thinks are his present ideals. The analysis predicates one set of value judgments as the standard for interpreting the needed changes. Such categorical statements as: "Planning . . . points out ways and means for obtaining greater freedom for the masses . . . more equal distribution of wealth . . . A richer and more abundant life," etc., indicate the interpretation of what the writers conceive as the end of our present attempts.

The study claims social planning to be a unique feature of modern times. "Planning must not be regarded as a passing fancy, but as a new principle, which

offers a new approach to the solution of our many rural and urban problems." The student of history or anthropology can cite many societies that have had social plans and even planning. We hardly need pass beyond our own national borders for illustrations. The authors make much use of the thesis that the existing social disorganization is largely a reflection of "culture lag." To cope with this "problem" they would replace the "politician" by the "scholar," etc. There can be little quarrel over the desire to bring greater security and general well-being to the members of our rural civilization. But one is inclined to question whether the most adequate methods for attaining these goals are the ones outlined. Can any social system be operated on a purely rationalistic level? The recognition by many students of the nonrational aspects of human behavior (as exemplified by the recent revival of interest in the works of Pareto, and others) is not to be lightly disregarded.

University of Wisconsin

JOHN H. USEEM

Population Problems, Second Edition, Revised. By Edward B. Reuter. Chicago, Philadelphia, New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1937. Pp. vi, 508.

This new edition eliminates four chapters contained in the previous edition (the relation of immigration and emigration to population growth, public health, race and race contacts, and the effect of immigration on the quality of the population stock), and adds five new ones (urbanization, present trends and future growth, heredity and population quality, eugenics, and Neo-Malthusianism). The discussion of Malthusianism emphasizes that the major part of the earth's peoples are still faced with the actual or potential threat of overpopulation. The problem of population distribution is regarded as relatively minor, and recent studies of population redistribution are not utilized. The possible selectivity of rural-urban migration is barely mentioned. The large proportion of space given to population quality and the differential birth rate (41 per cent of the total) is interesting in view of the author's assertion that the restricted birth rate of the socio-economic élite is not a matter of consequence one way or the other.

The present revision fails to acquaint students with the demographic situation in the contemporary world and the economic, social, psychological, and political causes and effects of the situation. The discussion of American attitudes toward immigration and immigrants is reproduced practically without change from the 1923 edition. Adequate presentation of the problems and difficulties involved in the present situation of the world's densely populated countries is lacking. The recent population policies of Germany and Italy are dismissed with a brief reference, and there is no analysis of the trend of the German birth rate since 1933.

Not only is the work characterized by an unfortunate indifference to current demographic research, but also by a number of logical inconsistencies. Despite the author's statement that "official attempts directly to control the birth rate seem nowhere to have met with much success," he expresses elsewhere his belief in the ease with which the fall in the birth rate could be arrested at any point desired. Immigration, on the other hand, is not regarded as determined, in the long run, by "the aberrations of statesmen." The biological significances of the

decline of the birth rate is stated to be "probably negligible"; "deviations from the racial norm are for the most part in the nature of fluctuating variations;" and yet it is asserted that in early warfare the greater mortality of the "more bellicose individuals who instigated the conflict . . . raised the percentage of the peacefully minded in the surviving populations."

It is regrettable that there are numerous factual errors. Reuter states that the birth rate of Japan "remained at its former level"; actually the crude birth rate declined from 34.6 per 1,000 population in 1921-25 to 29.9 in 1935. He states that "no country for which reliable statistics are available has shown an actual decrease except temporarily"; actually the population of the Irish Free State declined continuously from 1841 through 1936. He characterizes Italy as having "barbarian fecundity"; actually the crude birth rate was 23.3 in 1935. It may be noted that, contrary to accepted usage, he defines fertility as "the capacity to reproduce," and fecundity as "the number of offspring actually produced." His statement that "even in the more advanced countries contraception has not greatly if at all reduced the rate of population growth" would be refuted by even the most cursory survey of modern research. Perhaps one could not reasonably hold the author of a text for a detailed knowledge of current research in the field, but certainly he should be held for accuracy, clearness, and consistency in the information which he uses to illustrate his points.

Office of Population Research, Princeton University IRENE BARNES TAEUBER

Folklore from the Schoharie Hills. By Emelyn E. Gardner. University of Michigan Press, 1937. Pp. 331. \$3.50.

Students of folklore have felt a necessity to collect as much of this interesting type of folk life as possible, even though no analysis or generalization is added. Undoubtedly there is something to be said in defense of this practice. Unlike written literature, legends if not collected may disappear. Emelyn Gardner has gone into the Schoarie country east of Catskill, New York, and has returned with a book full of interesting ballads, ghost stories, legends, riddles, and general folk superstitions. She found the Schoarie region not too unlike the mountains of Virginia, Kentucky, or Pennsylvania. "The customs and beliefs portrayed by Fielding, Smollett, Pepys, and Burns" she "found to a large degree those of the present-day Schoarie hill folk who are prone to follow the folkways of their ancestors." No attempt is made to distinguish between common American folklore and that of specific old American communities. For a social psychologist a review of the material creates an urge to know more about the facts given. Why are certain ballads handed down? What determines distortions which occur in different regions? What determines individual distortions in a single section? Perhaps these questions will be answered in later days when an adequate reservoir of such knowledge is available to all. This seems to be the function the author conceived the work to have, and we must accept it at that value. The book is also an interesting document for those who enjoy folklore for avocational reading.

Kenyon College, Ohio

RICHARD L. SCHANCK

The Checkered Years. By Mary Boynton Cowdry. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, 1937. Pp. 265. \$3.00.

This is a book of excerpts from the diary of Mary Dodge Woodward, a widow of about sixty years of age who lived with her two sons and a daughter on a 1,500-acre wheat farm in Dakota during the bonanza years, 1884-89. The farm was owned by her cousin, Daniel Dodge, and was managed by her son, Walter, for a salary of \$1,000 a year.

Mary Dodge Woodward was not a typical pioneer woman. She went to the territory when past middle life, her children grown, her financial security assured. She viewed the plains with a spyglass, read good books, received 15 papers and magazines in one mail and had her diary bound in leather. There is no indication that she participated in local community life.

The book contains brief but interesting comments on large scale wheat farming during the eighties, and shows that plowed ground in that territory produced dust storms long before the eyes of the nation were turned upon the "Dust Bowl," during the recent drought. There are excellent comments upon the weather, sunsets, blizzards, northern lights, mirages, and wild flowers. Mrs. Woodward wrote with charm, and with an intimacy born of the belief that none but her immediate family would ever read what she wrote. She quoted poetry, wrote original verse, and modified the lines of others to express her sentiments. Many people will find the book interesting reading because of the simple but cultured personality which it expresses.

Ohio State University

C. E. LIVELY

Coral Gardens and Their Magic: A Study of the Methods of Tilling the Soil and of Agricultural Rites in the Trobriand Islands. By Bronislaw Malinowski. New York: American Book Company; London: Allen and Unwin. 1935. Vol. 1: pp. xxxviii, 500; Vol. 2: pp. xxxiv, 350.

This will be recognized as a classic monograph, and no review by a representative of one social science for a particular journal can do it justice. Although ethnologists will offer technical criticism beyond our competence, we would stress to rural sociologists its fundamental value to them.

An 85-page opening chapter pictures the setting of this tribe and the understanding of their agriculture which would result from a brief residence. Eleven succeeding chapters exhaustively describe and interpret every aspect of agricultural operations, accompanying magical practices, the economic and tenure settings of their agriculture, and the enmeshment of this one facet of life in the whole social structure and culture. This volume might well be titled the rural sociology of the Trobrianders.

Many readers of this review are familiar with Malinowski's assertion that magic is not a superstitious incidental of life, but an integral activity, effective both supernaturally for believers, and empirically through its buoying effect on human spirits, and its rôle as a co-ordinator of practical activities. This thesis

is substantiated repeatedly in the descriptions of the round of agricultural activities of these people.

Particularly valuable, in conjunction with Malinowski's other books on this people, is the clear picture of the functioning of the avunculate family system, and his illuminating dissection of the concept of land tenure.

Sociologists studying areas where familistic mores remain strong, and those studying urbanized and secularized agrarian groups, will profit equally from careful reading of this monograph. The former will receive insight into aspects of their situation they have overlooked or misunderstood; the latter will gain clearer understanding through the violent contrast of situations.

The second volume is principally linguistic, and strives to demonstrate that language is not epiphenomenal, but effective practically. The spells of magic are presented in detail, each in its setting of behavior and social relationships. T. Lynn Smith, with the reviewer, attempted in "Scope and Method of Research in Rural Social Psychology" to urge studies springing from language usage; here are more fruitful suggestions of such possibilities. This section of the study is especially valuable, also, for understanding the structure and rôle of the language institution in society.

Iowa Experiment Station

C. ARNOLD ANDERSON

Mixing the Races in Hawaii. By Sidney L. Gulick. Honolulu: The Hawaiian Board Book Rooms, 1937. Pp. xiii, 220. Cloth \$2.50, paper \$1.75.

This work, by a retired Protestant missionary, is a description of the various factors—racial, historical, educational and political, social and religious—that are supposedly "weaving the poly-racial elements of the population of Hawaii into a single unified people—the Neo-Hawaiian-American race." It contains 13 chapters, a short appendix, an index, 26 statistical tables—taken largely from the works of Professors Romanzo Adams and L. D. Porteus of the University of Hawaii—and numerous illustrations, mostly religious in nature. One-third of the book deals with the missionary activities of the various denominational creeds—Methodist, Episcopal, Roman Catholic, Mormon, as well as the religions of Buddhism and Shintoism—and the relative importance of each in "fusing" the heterogeneous elements into a unified homogeneous people. The methodology is one in which all the factors favorable to the author's thesis of the creation of a "new human type" are presented first, followed by one chapter of the influences "that are, or seem to be, adverse." In the opinion of the reviewer this chapter is the most worthwhile. Here one learns that the first 11 chapters "give too rosy and optimistic a picture"; of brotherly love in the "paradise of the Pacific"; that "although up to high school age the youngsters hobnob like brothers and sisters, the situation seems to change thereafter"; that 151,141 Japanese, representing 38 per cent of the total population adhering to a religious and school system of their own still represent a social problem, however reluctantly admitted. Despite the fact that "the vast majority of individuals of pure races marry within their own race," the author roughly estimates the probable physiological characteristics of the coming race—the Neo-Hawaiian-American Race—

as "ten per cent Hawaiian, twenty per cent Caucasian, forty per cent Japanese, ten per cent Chinese, fifteen per cent Filipino, and two per cent Puerto Rican."

Louisiana State University

VERNON J. PARENTON

History of Randleigh Farm. By Wm. Rand Kenan, Jr. Lockport, New York: W. R. Kenan, 1937. Pp. 298. \$2.50.

This book includes far more than the brief history of a New York farm since 1921. It tells the story of a series of interesting experiments conducted for the purpose of producing better milk for human consumption. In 1912 Mr. Kenan, a man of means, who knew nothing of dairying, purchased a grade Jersey cow for \$100. From this beginning grew a 350-acre farm stocked with a herd of 165 registered Jerseys, equipped with the best known devices for the production of pure nutritious milk. During recent years, extensive experiments have been conducted at Randleigh Farm. These experiments have dealt with such problems as how to get milk from cow to consumer without it coming in contact with air, and how to feed and otherwise treat dairy cows so as to improve the vitamin content of milk. In the course of these experiments experts in feeding, chemistry, physiology, and dentistry at Ohio State University contributed their services, and equipment manufacturers were prevailed upon to produce special equipment. Part II of the book on the "Feeding of Dairy Cows" contains a series of interesting chapters written chiefly by Professor Oscar Erf of Ohio State University, and shows the relation of feeding to the quality of milk produced.

The book is a significant one for the expert dairyman and for all who are interested in the relation between milk and modern civilization. Mr. Kenan is doing pioneer service in improving the quality of the best known human food.

Ohio State College

C. E. LIVELY

The Abolition of Poverty. By James Ford and Katherine Morrow Ford. The Macmillan Company, 1937. Pp. x, 300. \$2.50.

The publishers' notice of the volume that "This is the first compact yet comprehensive treatment of all phases of the problem," is approximately correct, if "compact" is emphasized sufficiently. Parmlee's *Poverty and Social Progress* of 1819 was a comprehensive survey of practically all phases of extent, causes, and "cures" of poverty. The volume under review has the advantage of being up to date and of taking advantage of new developments in our own country and in other nations. Out of 15 chapters, three are devoted to personality matters: causes in heredity and incapacity of various kinds and to the possibility of their removal. The writers are overappreciative of some of the pseudo-scientific eugenic proposals for the elimination of such defectives as the feeble-minded. Although stating that perhaps not more than 40 per cent of such mental defectives are so by heredity, yet when considering sterilization, all feeble-minded are to be sterilized as if all were made so by gene combination. So-called eugenic marriage laws are also highly regarded, in spite of the findings of at least two state studies that are largely fiascos. There is too much hope that the 90 per cent of feeble-

mindfulness that is derived from normal persons and is therefore entirely hidden "might be prevented by clinical advice." These are perhaps minor matters and are overshadowed by the great volume of painstaking and highly meritorious work in most other directions. The social environmental causes and "cures" are splendidly handled. The economic determining conditions of poverty are adequately revealed. The authors see little hope for removing and preventing poverty under the capitalistic system. Communism as a remedy is discarded, perhaps with too brief a treatment. Some form of collectivism or state socialism is regarded as the only system under which poverty may be abolished. So long as capitalism remains, all we can hope to do is to mitigate poverty. This notice does not do justice to the merits of the volume. Seldom does one see so compact, direct, and pungent a treatment of so vast a field. It is a splendid piece of work.

University of North Dakota

J. M. GILLETTE

The National Debt and Government Credit. Prepared under the auspices of the Committee on Government Credit of the Twentieth Century Fund. New York: Twentieth Century Fund, Inc., 1937. Pp. xvii, 171. \$2.00.

The unprecedented size of our national debt prompted the Twentieth Century Fund to study the relationship between the national debt and government credit. The study is, for the most part, a careful and well-balanced analysis of credit in general and government credit in particular. The report concludes that neither the present size of the debt nor the large increase occurring during the depression has as yet endangered the credit of the Federal Government. Nevertheless it argues, deficit financing should be discontinued and substantial surpluses made available to reduce the debt in order that the nation does not enter another period of deficit financing (which another depression or war would involve) with the big debt load it now has. No mention is made of the fact that the net indebtedness of local governments for the country as a whole has actually declined during the five-year period 1932 to 1936. In other words, much of the responsibility for furnishing public services has been shifted to Uncle Sam, while the county and other local governmental units have paid off part of their indebtedness and are in better financial condition than before the depression.

The possibility that the development of the Social Security Reserve Fund will absorb government bonds in the years ahead is mentioned, but there is no discussion of the significance which this change in ownership of the bonds might have in reducing the possibilities of inflation and speculative booms through deficit financing by dependence on the banking system to purchase them as at present. This book was not intended to discuss ways and means of reducing the debt or of balancing the budget, but one cannot help feel the incompleteness of the discussion when statement upon statement is made to the effect that the budget should be balanced and surpluses raised to liquidate the debt. The reviewer believes a great majority of Americans in all walks of life will agree that huge debts are bad for governments as well as for individuals, and that budgets should be balanced if possible without too great sacrifice of human welfare. But

the persistently perplexing problem of how to get it balanced under our present economic order remains.

Montana State College

ROLAND R. RENNE

Handicrafts of the Southern Highlands. With an Account of the Rural Handicraft Movement in the United States and Suggestions for the Wider Use of Handicrafts in Adult Education and in Recreation. By Allen H. Eaton. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1937. Pp. 370. \$3.00.

The Russell Sage Foundation sponsored this exhaustive study in which development of mountain handicrafts is traced, the status of the work surrounding the different centers is set forth, and future of the handicrafts is considered. The movement is recognized as threefold, social, educational, and economic. Approach to the problem of perpetuation and development must be ethical. Co-operative planning offers the most promise and the author has aided in forming and guiding the Southern Highland Handicraft Guild and in affiliating it with Federal, state, and private agencies. These agencies are developing the reciprocal relation between makers and users that they believe to be the soundest foundation on which to build for the future. More than 100 photogravures and colored prints, and names, dates, procedures, patterns, products, equipment, bibliographies and index help to make this a definitive volume insofar as any book on handicrafts can be so considered.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. Department of Agriculture

CAROLINE B. SHERMAN

Die Wanderungsbewegung in Ostpreussen. By Konrad Steyer. Beiträge zur Statistik der Provinz Ostpreussen, Heft 1. Königsberg: Grafe und Unzer, 1935. Pp. 146 (45 tables, 22 charts, and maps).

Die Veränderung der Bevölkerungsverteilung in Berlin-Brandenburg 1875-1925. By Gerhard Deissmann. Berliner Geographische Arbeiten, Heft 11. Stuttgart: Engelhorn, 1936. Pp. 143, of which 53 are text.

The steady stream of German monographs on migration and population distribution is the best argument for expanded expenditure on the United States Census. Steyer classifies migrations according to origin, source, route, etc., and critically examines the validity of the available types of data for measuring each. Choosing police reports (*Meldewesen*) as most accurate, he describes separately migrations within, and to and from, East Prussia from 1929 (and 1925 in some cases) to 1932—the period of shrinking industrial employment. The data are classified and critically analyzed by year and month and season, urban and rural districts, religious affiliation, age, sex, occupation, and land-values and land-holding units. He shows that different migration components have different variations for each of these attributes. Particularly significant is his demonstration that persons from areas of small holdings participate most intensively in movements within the province, while individuals from large-holdings areas are more common in migrations over the border.

Deissmann's study pictures the changing distribution of population within a metropolitan area under the influence of land-type, industrial localization, and lines of transportation. The size of each center is given for 1875, 1890, 1910, and 1925, and the changes are explained in detail.

Both studies are filled with suggestions for students of migration in this country, despite the inferior data available here.

Iowa Experiment Station

C. ARNOLD ANDERSON

Surveys of Youth-Finding the Facts. By D. L. Harley. Studies, Series IV, No. 1, American Council of Education, Washington, D. C., 1937. Pp. 106. \$.50.

The American Youth Commission, set up by the American Council of Education in 1935, took as one of its first tasks the making of a survey of surveys on young people. The result is this annotated and classified bibliography on 166 studies made since 1931. The listings are arranged by subject matter into: (1) general inquiries, (2) follow-up surveys, dealing with out-of-school (or college) older youth, (3) employment only, (4) rural, and (5) miscellaneous, such as those on attitudes, race, relief, and transients. In addition, consideration is given to about 35 surveys for which reports have not appeared, a part of them being still in process. For comparative purposes a number of Great Britain's contributions are also recorded. The report is of interest to anyone working with young people, but its greatest value is to those who are in search of information on source materials pertaining to their needs and activities. As far as possible, each reference is followed by information on the number surveyed; their age range; the group characteristics, e.g., whether single or married, boys or girls, in school or out, rural or urban; fields or items covered: year of study; means of obtaining data; and location. Surveys for a certain state, year, age group, educational status, and the like are easily ascertainable by means of a system of cross references. Information is given also on how copies of reports may be obtained where they still are available. On the whole, the report is organized for use along certain lines, is essentially accurate, and more complete than any bibliography on young people's surveys for the depression period, and is a useful reference guide for all who are working in the field of youth.

University of Wisconsin

E. L. KIRKPATRICK

The Bible and Rural Life. By Ross J. Griffeths. Cincinnati, Ohio: The Standard Publishing Company, 1937. \$.75.

In the words of the author this pamphlet has "sought to present a fresh approach to the study of the Bible. . . . The purpose has been to suggest the vitality of the scriptures for those of our own time who live in rural areas, and to challenge urban citizens by a presentation of their responsibilities and obligations to the churches of the open country and rural villages."

The author has paraphrased the rural sociologist by pointing out that rural society must have a culture of its own. He suggests that this should and can be accomplished by revitalizing religion, and looking to religion as a motivator of every day ways of living and as an agency for education.

The usual difficulty is that few who have not a social science point of view will read and think upon this subject. If they do, they will dispose of it as "wishful thinking."

Montana State College

CARL F. KRAENZEL

Mortality Trends in the State of Minnesota. By Calvin F. Schmid. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1937. Pp. x, 325. \$3.50.

According to the author, this monograph ". . . is primarily intended for members of the medical profession, administrative officials, public health workers, social workers, students, and all others who are actively interested in public health problems." Noteworthy is the fact that about a third of the total space is devoted to admirable examples of orthodox graphic representation of quantitative data. The flexibility afforded by photolithic methods of reproduction is well exemplified by this work.

Louisiana State University

EDGAR A. SCHULER

The Official Publications of American Counties: A Union List. By James Goodwin Hodgson. Fort Collins, Colorado, the author, 1937. Pp. xxii, 594. \$5.00.

This mimeographed bibliography of official county publications (both print and "near print") contains a list of over 5,000 entries. The items are arranged alphabetically by title of publication within each county, counties being listed alphabetically within each state. The index, while unfortunately incomplete, adds to the reference value of the work. Inasmuch as "the county," as the author says, "is essentially a rural form of government," this work should doubtless be accessible to the rural sociologist as well as to students of local government.

Louisiana State University

EDGAR A. SCHULER

News Notes and Announcements

THE RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA

Of interest to rural sociologists everywhere is the organization of the Rural Sociological Society of America which took place at the Claridge Hotel, Atlantic City, New Jersey, on December —, 1937. Approximately 75 rural sociologists in attendance at the annual meetings of the American Sociological Society were called into special session by Dr. George von Tungeln, Chairman of the Section on Rural Sociology, to hear the report of a special committee appointed in December, 1936, to consider ways and means of better organization for rural sociologists. This committee, consisting of Dwight Sanderson (Chairman), O. D. Duncan, John H. Kolb, Carl C. Taylor, and B. O. Williams, presented the following report to the meeting.

To the Rural Section of the American Sociological Society:

Your committee, appointed to suggest a plan for the organization of a society of rural sociologists, preferably as an affiliated unit of the American Sociological Society, has given careful consideration to the problems involved and has corresponded with the officers of the American Sociological Society and through them with its executive committee. As a result, we recommend:

1. That the rural section formally propose the two following amendments to the constitution of the American Sociological Society.

"ARTICLE VIII. Section 2. A section of the society shall be composed of members of the society interested in a common field of sociological specialization, *or may consist of an independent society or association devoted to a special field of sociology, a majority of whose members are members of the American Sociological Society. The constitution or by-laws of such an independent association must specify that it is a section of the American Sociological Society.* Sections shall meet annually during the time of, and in the same city as the annual meeting of the Society."

The amendment to this section is italicized.

Article VII, Section 5, by inserting after the word "sections," "except as provided in Section 2 above."

These amendments should be presented at the present meeting and cannot be acted upon until the following year as they must be transmitted by the secretary to all members two months before the annual meeting. The presentation at the present time would permit full discussion and enable the members of the rural section to obtain a reaction of the members of the parent society.

2. Your committee also proposes the adoption of the attached suggested con-

stitution and by-laws for the creation of a separate organization affiliated with the American Sociological Society. We suggest that this constitution be circulated among the members of the rural section and that its adoption be made a special order of business at the meeting of 1938, after the American Society has voted upon the proposed amendments.

Respectfully submitted,

J. H. KOLB

CARL C. TAYLOR

B. O. WILLIAMS

DWIGHT SANDERSON, *Chairman*

Dr. O. D. Duncan submits the following as a minority report. (The constitution which he appends is practically identical with that submitted by the majority report, except that it deletes Article 3.):

(1) that this group here and now declare itself to be an independent society and that as an organization its allegiance to the American Sociological Society in all matters of jurisdiction shall be regarded by this action as having come to an end,

(2) that for the year 1938 the Rural Sociological Society operate under a provisional constitution for which purpose a draft of a suggested constitution is attached hereto,

(3) that a committee be designated to draw up proposals for permanent organization, to be considered by the Society at its regular annual meeting in 1938.

The committee amended its report by deleting paragraph 2, and its report was then adopted.

After considerable discussion, the affairs of the Rural Section were brought to an end, and the group proceeded to organize the Rural Sociological Society of America, and unanimously elected the following officers for the year 1938.

President: Dwight Sanderson, Cornell University

Vice-President: John H. Kolb, University of Wisconsin

Secretary-Treasurer: T. Lynn Smith, Louisiana State University

The Executive Committee was completed by the election of C. E. Lively and Carl C. Taylor.

The following provisional constitution was adopted for the year with the understanding that it would be amended and finally adopted at the next annual meeting. It was agreed that all members joining this year shall be considered charter members of the Society.

PROVISIONAL CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE 1. *Name.* This organization shall be called the Rural Sociological Society of America.

ARTICLE 2. *Objects.* The objects of this Society shall be to promote development of rural sociology, through research, teaching, and extension work.

ARTICLE 3. *Affiliation.* This Society shall be affiliated with the American

Sociological Society and shall constitute a section on Rural Sociology of that Society.

ARTICLE 4. *Members.* Any person professionally employed in the field of rural sociology or who is interested in the objects of this Society, may become a member upon vote of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE 5. *Officers.* The officers of the Society shall consist of a president, a vice-president, and a secretary-treasurer, whose duties shall be those usually appertaining to those offices.

ARTICLE 6. *Executive Committee.* The Executive Committee shall consist of the officers and two other members to be elected by the Society. The Executive Committee shall be the governing body of the Society, except insofar as the Society delegates governmental functions to officers or to other committees independent of or in co-operation with the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE 7. *Elections.* The officers and elected members of the Executive Committee shall be elected by a majority of the members of the Society present at the annual meeting.

ARTICLE 8. *Annual Meeting.* The constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of those present and voting at any annual meeting, *provided* that written notice of any proposed amendment shall be sent to the secretary by five members of the Society not later than two months after the annual meeting and shall be transmitted by the secretary to the members of the Society at least one month before the annual meeting.

SUGGESTED BY-LAWS

ARTICLE 1. *Membership and Dues*

Section 1. Any person interested in the objects of the Society may become a member upon application and recommendation by a member of the Society and the favorable vote of the Executive Committee.

Section 2. The annual dues for active members shall be three dollars per annum, and shall entitle the member to the publications of the Society. Students of educational institutions may become associate members upon the payment of two dollars and fifty cents per annum.

ARTICLE 2. *Standing Committees*

Section 1. There shall be three standing committees on Research, Teaching, and Extension work. Each of these committees shall be composed of three members, one to be elected each year for a term of three years. The senior member of each committee shall act as its chairman. It shall be the duty of each of these committees to make inquiry as to the status and progress of that phase of rural sociology assigned to it, and to make such reports and recommendations to the Society as it may see fit.

Section 2. The Executive Committee and the chairmen of the three Standing Committees shall constitute a Program Committee for arranging the program of the annual meeting.

ARTICLE 3. *Publications*

Section 1. The quarterly journal, *Rural Sociology*, shall be the official pub-

lication of the Society and its management shall be vested in a Board of Editors to be elected by the Society.

Section 2. The Board of Editors of *Rural Sociology* shall consist of five members, one to be elected each year for a term of six years, and a managing editor. The Board of Editors shall elect from among its numbers an editor-in-chief, and shall appoint a managing editor to have charge of the management of the journal.

Section 3. Two dollars and fifty cents of the dues of each member shall be paid to the managing editor for a subscription to *Rural Sociology*.

Section 4. The Board of Editors of *Rural Sociology* shall submit an annual report of its receipts and expenditures and of its general policies, with a proposed budget for the ensuing year. The Board of Editors shall not obligate the Society for expenditures in excess of its receipts from subscriptions, advertising, and other sources.

ARTICLE 4. *Amendments*

Section 1. Amendments to these By-Laws may be proposed by the Executive Committee or by any member of the Society, and shall be adopted by a majority vote of those present at the annual meeting, providing that the amendment shall be sent to the Secretary by five members of the Society not later than two months before the annual meeting and shall be transmitted by the secretary to the members of the Society at least one month before the annual meeting.

The newly constituted Society by unanimous vote approved a co-operative arrangement whereby the Louisiana State University Press would undertake the publication of a series of *Rural Sociological Monographs* for the Society.

After a meeting of the Executive Committee the president announced the following committee appointments.

Committee on Research: C. Horace Hamilton, for one year, chairman; Harold F. Dorn, for two years; N. L. Whetten, for three years.

Committee on Teaching: Wilson Gee, for one year, chairman; O. D. Duncan, for two years; C. R. Hoffer, for three years.

Committee on Extension: J. B. Schmidt, for one year, chairman; Mary E. Duthie, for two years; Theo. Vaughan, for three years.

For *Rural Sociological Monographs*: T. Lynn Smith, editor; Paul Landis, advisory editor; Conrad Taeuber, advisory editor.

February 21, 1938

To the Members of the Rural Sociological Society of America:

It is none too soon to be thinking about the program for our next annual meeting. I have heard suggestions from some that they would prefer a meeting devoted to discussion rather than the presentation of formal papers. I shall be glad to hear from members about the type of program and the number of sessions they prefer. To be of most use, we should have these suggestions at once, and they will then be taken up with the Executive Committee.

DWIGHT SANDERSON, *President*

University of Arizona:—Dr. E. D. Tetreau, professor of rural sociology, University of Arizona, served as chairman of an oral examining board which examined candidates for positions with the Arizona State Board of Social Security. These examinations were held from December 6 to December 24, 1937, at all the county seats of the state. Other members of the board were Professor Jean Sinnock of Denver University, and Dr. Clyde W. Taylor, Phoenix Union High School.

Dr. F. A. Conrad, professor of sociology, University of Arizona, read and graded the essays written by applicants for positions on the board of Social Security.

University of Arkansas:—H. W. Blalock, formerly associate professor of rural economics, has announced his resignation from the university faculty effective January 13. He will continue in his present position on the State Utilities Commission.

A co-operative study on Farm Labor Conditions in the Delta areas of the state has been outlined by the United States Department of Agriculture, the A.A.A., and the State Experiment Station. The reduction of croppers and tenants to a farm labor status is creating problems of a serious nature.

The co-operative Extension Service is inaugurating a project to assist young farm families to obtain holdings of their own of such a size and description that they will be able to maintain proper standards of living. The Experiment Station is co-operating with the Extension Service in locating suitable tracts of land and formulating farm plans.

Harvard University:—Professor Kimball Young of Wisconsin and Carle C. Zimmerman of Harvard will give courses in the Harvard Summer School from July 5 to August 13. In addition, the rural sociologists who want to take a refresher course or to get acquainted with different schools of thought will find Professors P. A. Sorokin, Edmund B. Wilson, and Talcott Parsons available for consultation.

Louisiana State University:—Professor Guy B. Johnson of the University of North Carolina will offer courses in the 1938 summer session.

Soil Conservation Service:—The inclusion of Indian reservations within the Soil Conservation Service required an adaptation of its land-use programs to some of the peculiarities of the Indian and their problems. The result was a division of the Federal organization called "Technical Cooperation—Bureau of Indian Affairs," with one unit for "Technical" surveys (engineering, soils, water, agronomic, range, erosion, etc.) and another for "Human Dependency" surveys (land-ownership, land-tenure, land-use, income, social organization, etc.). The latter unit is responsible for utilizing its own and the technical units' findings to assess the apportionment and adequacy of the resources of any given reservation

studied, and to outline plans for land-consolidation, land-use, population distribution, etc. Since July 1, 1937, Maurice T. Price has been acting head of the human dependency unit.

The State College of Washington:—Edwards Brothers, Incorporated, Ann Arbor, Michigan, announces the publication of *Three Iron Mining Towns, A Study in Cultural Change* by Paul H. Landis, associate professor of sociology.

Ginn and Company announces the publication of *Social Living, Principles and Problems in Introductory Sociology*, a high school text by Paul H. Landis, associate professor of sociology, and Judson T. Landis, fellow in the department of sociology, Louisiana State University.

Books Received

- Western Lands and the American Revolution.* By Thomas P. Abernethy. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co. \$4.00.
- We Americans.* By Elin L. Andersn. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1937. \$3.00.
- Dixie After the War.* By M. Lockett Avery. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co. \$3.00.
- The Checkered Years.* By Mary Boynton Cowdrey. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers. \$3.00.
- Rebuilding Rural America.* By Mark A. Dawber. New York: Friendship Press. \$1.00.
- The Abolition of Poverty.* By James and Katherine Morrow Ford. New York: Macmillan Co. \$2.50.
- The Bible and Rural Life.* By Ross J. Griffeths. Cincinnati, Ohio: The Standard Publishing Co. \$.75.
- Mixing the Races in Hawaii.* By Sidney L. Gulick. Honolulu: The Hawaiian Board Book Rooms, 1937. \$2.50.
- The Old Sheriff and Other True Tales.* By Lafayette Hanchett. New York: Margent Press. \$2.50.
- Surveys of Youth: Finding the Facts.* By D. L. Harley. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education. \$.50.
- Spotlights on the Culture of India.* By James Lowell Hypes.
- The Wasted Land.* By Gerald W. Johnson. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937. \$1.50.
- Isolated Communities, A Study of a Labrador Fishing Village.* By Oscar Walde-mar Junek. New York: American Book Co., 1937. \$2.50.
- History of Randleigh Farm.* By William R. Kenan, Jr. Lockport, N. Y.: (Published by the author). \$2.50.
- Early 18th Century Palatine Emigration.* By W. A. Knittle. Philadelphia: Dor-rance & Co., 1937.
- Voices from the Fields: Country Songs by Farming People.* By Russell Lord. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1937. \$2.00.
- The National Debt and Government Credit.* Prepared under the auspices of the Committee on Government Credit of the Twentieth Century Fund. New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, Inc., 1937. \$2.00.
- Nutrition:* Final report of the Mixed Committee of the League of Nations on the relation of nutrition to health, agriculture, and economic policy. New York: Columbia University Press. \$2.00.
- The Structure of Social Action.* By Talcott Parsons. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1936. \$6.00.
- Of the Earth Earthy.* By Marion Nicholl Rawson. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. \$5.00.

- Agricultural Revolution in Norfolk.* By Riches. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press.
- The Village Carpenter.* By Walter Rose.
- The Social History of American Agriculture.* By Joseph Schafer. New York: Macmillan Co, 1937.
- The Share-Cropper.* By Charlie May Simon. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. \$2.50.
- The New Social Philosophy.* By W. Sombert and Geiser. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1937.
- Die Wanderbewegung in Der Provinz Ostpreussen nach Stadt- und Landkreisen.* Konrad Steyer. Prussia: Königsberg, 1935.
- Human Migration, A Study of International Movements.* By Donald R. Taft. New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1937. \$4.00.
- Mexico's Progress Demands Its Price.* By Louis H. Warner. Boston, Mass.: Chapman & Grimes.
- Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantation.* By T. J. Woofter, Jr. Washington, D. C.: Works Progress Administration, Research Monograph V, 1936.
- Negro Yearbook.* By Monroe N. Work, Editor. Tuskegee Institute, Alabama: Negro Yearbook Publishing Co. \$2.00.
- The Stature and Weight of the Siamese.* By Carle C. Zimmerman. *Genus*, Organo Del Comitato Italiano per lo Studio Dei Problemi Della Popolazione. Pp. 1-31.
- Farm Tenancy.* Duke University, *Law and Contemporary Problems*, Vol. IV, No. 4, October, 1937.

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